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THE FATES OF THE MADRID PUTEAL

PLATE III

THE Madrid Puteal is one of those monuments which are very well known but very seldom seen. It has been adequately described, though not adequately reproduced, by Robert von Schneider in his monograph,¹ and photographs of its relief-sculpture are included in Arndt-Amelung.² The three chief characters, Zeus on his throne, with scepter and thunderbolt, Athéna in armour, moving rapidly to the right, and Hephaestus (or Prometheus) with double axe on his arm, moving to the left, have been more or less cordially accepted as versions of the central group of the east pediment of the Parthenon; while the remaining figures, three Fates with attributes in their hands, have been consistently discarded as irrelevant. Although Hauser³ ventured the opinion that the Fates, like the other figures of the Puteal, might be Phidian, his remark remained unheeded or unapproved; and he himself recanted later.⁴ Such stepmotherly treatment is undeserved. An unmistakable likeness to the Muses of the Mantinea Basis, and the accident of a faulty placing of the central group in the pediment (which left inadequate room for the Fates) were apparently responsible for the early slur upon their Phidian character. They have never since recovered their reputation.

The whole problem merits reexamination, in order that all the figures of the Puteal may be given a proper hearing and judged on evidence rather than dismissed without it. Proper photographs are here much-needed documents; and these I have tried to supply.

I. THE FATES IN FIFTH CENTURY MYTHOLOGY⁵

We have no fifth century warrant for that familiar conception according to which Clotho spins the thread of life for the new-born, Lachesis draws out the thread, and Atropos shears it off. To be sure, there are spinning Norns, Κλῶθες, in Homer. In *Iliad* XX, 128 it is Aisa who thus spins the life thread; and in *Odyssey* VII, 197 it is Aisa and the Clothes. In *Iliad* XXIV, 209 Moira is the spinner; but the plural Μοῖραι occurs only in *Iliad* XXIV, 49. In verse 525 of the same book, and in several passages in the *Odyssey*, the gods are spinners of destiny. It is evident that the tradition is vague and the personalities still unsettled.

¹ *Die Geburt der Athena*.

² *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, nos. 1724-9.

³ *Neu-attische Reliefs*, p. 68.

⁴ *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, 1903, pp. 79-107.

⁵ I have based this section on a much more comprehensive study made at my request by Dr. Marjorie Milne of Bryn Mawr, to whom I owe my thanks.

On the François Vase are shown together *four* Moirai wholly undifferentiated by names or attributes. Weizsäcker¹ has suggested that these are Themis or Eileithyia with the three Fates; but it is more probable that all four are merely Fates, vague in number and void of attribute.



FIGURE 1. MADRID PUTEAL: CLOTHO

Hesiod already seems to know these Fates by name. In his *Theogony* they are daughters of Night in verse 217, but daughters of Zeus and Themis in verse 904. In both passages their names are given, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos; but since verses 218-9 are almost identical with 905-6 and are omitted in the former position

¹ Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. Moira.

in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 3, 38 and both passages could be dropped without injury to the sense, we must reckon with the possibility that these names are a later interpolation. Nor are we on firmer ground with the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* 258 ff., where Atropos is called the smallest and oldest of the Moirai,—a unique character-



FIGURE 2. MADRID PUTEAL: LACHESIS

ization. Suspicion of these passages is based on the observation that, though the Moirai are triple in Aeschylus¹ and in the pre-Periclean lyric fragment in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I, 5, 10–12, the collocation of the three names so familiar to us occurs in no other passage claiming earlier date than Plato. There, in *Republic X*, 617C, it occurs in splendid setting, in the famous Myth of Er.

¹ *Prom.* *Vinct.* 516.

However, Clotho is certainly an old-established and familiar personage. In Pindar's *First Olympian Ode*, 26 it is she who takes Pelops out of the caldron. In the *Fifth Isthmian*, 17 she is named, "Clotho the lofty-throned," along with "sister Moirai," who are nameless.



FIGURE 3. MADRID PUTEAL: "AISA" AND HEPHAESTUS

As for Lachesis, in Pindar's *Seventh Olympian*, 64 ff. she is bidden by Helios to preside over the lot of Rhodes; but there is no indication that she is here one of three Fates. Rather, she seems to be an independent divinity, like Tyche. So Isyllus of Epidaurus¹ makes her a μαῖα ἀγάνα presiding independently with the Moirai at the

¹ D16; p. 13 of Wilamowitz' edition.

birth of Asklepios. In a fragment published by Grenfell and Hunt¹ and attributed by these editors to Pindar on account of numerous Pindaric echoes and resemblances, Eileithyia and Lachesis raise cries of joy at the birth of Apollo and Artemis. And inasmuch as Pindar elsewhere associates Eileithyia with the Moirai, he may have regarded Lachesis here as one of the Fates. But whether she is yet thought of as a Moira or no, clearly she belongs at the birth of gods.

There is an early fifth century lyric fragment in Stobaeus which has been plausibly attributed by Wilamowitz² to Simonides; and therein are named Clotho and Lachesis and with them as a third, not Atropos, but a vaguer and generic Aisa. Unless we accept as genuine the previously cited Hesiodic passages, it would seem that Plato was responsible for Atropos and that he invented her name, her character, and her activities for his legend of reincarnation.

In brief, the vague and shadowy Moirai of earlier days have, by the time of the Parthenon, crystallized into three, of whom one is certainly Clotho, and a second is probably Lachesis; but the third is still unnamed or uncertain, and may best be called, not Atropos, but Aisa.

As for their functions, Moira in Homer is usually concerned with death; and this conception persists throughout Greek literature, for the most part in a merely conventional form as in the epic and elegiac phrase *μοῖρα θανάτου*. In late sepulchral epigrams the idea is very common, and here Moira or the Moirai are often vividly personified. In the fifth century we find the Moirai concerned in the death of Alcestis³ and of Meleager.⁴ But the chief province of the Moirai at this time was patently that of marriages⁵ and births.

In the opening line of his *Seventh Nemean Ode*, Pindar calls Eileithyia the *πάρεδρος Μοιρῶν βαθυφρόνων* and in his *Sixth Olympian*, 41, he tells how Apollo sent Eileithyia and the Moirai to Evadne for the birth of Iamus. By Euripides the Moirai are called *λόχιαι θεαί*.⁶ In Plato's *Symposium*, 206D, the wise Diotima asserts that the Moirai and Eileithyia preside over birth.

That they exercised this function for gods as well as for mortals is indicated by a passage in Euripides' *Bacchae*, 95 ff., where Zeus who has hidden Dionysus in his thigh ἔτεκεν δ' ἀνίκα Μοῖραι τέλεσαν ταυρόκερων θεόν. And we have already seen how Lachesis cried her joy at the birth of Apollo and Artemis, and how she and the Moirai presided when Asklepios was born. It is therefore

¹ Oxyrhynchus Papyri XV, 1792.

² *Isyllos von Epidavros*, p. 16, n. 2.

³ Aesch., *Eum.*, 724 ff.; Eur., *Alc.*, 10 and 33.

⁴ *Bacchyl.*, V, 143.

⁵ Pind., frg. 30; Aristoph., *Av.*, 1731 ff.; Aesch., *Eum.*, 957 ff.; Pollux, III, 38; the Francois Vase; Catullus, LXIV, 305 ff., probably based on a Greek original. Cf. also Pind., P. IV, 145.

⁶ I.T., 206. This rests on an emendation, but on a very probable one.

thoroughly right and fitting that they should attend on the birth of the goddess Athena in the east pediment of the Parthenon.

Now, Zeus among all the Olympians is the god with whom the Moirai are most frequently associated. In our Simonides fragment, they sit closest to his throne. Above the head of his image at Megara (the work of Theocosmus, with which Phidias is said to have been associated) were the Fates and the Hours.¹ One of the epithets of Zeus is *Mοιραγέτης*;² and Zeus Moiragetes was apparently connected with the cult of Athena Polias at Athens, as Furtwängler pointed out.³

But the Moirai are also connected with Demeter and Persephone. According to a Phigalean legend,⁴ they were sent by Zeus to the mourning Demeter and persuaded her to put aside her grief and anger. In Orphic Hymn, XLIII, 7 they and the Graces in dances lead Persephone to the light. On the Hyacinthus altar they were represented along with the Horai and next to Demeter, Cora, and Pluto.⁵ Their temple at Corinth seems to have been close to that of Demeter and Cora.⁶ In the stoa leading to the temple of Despoina at Lycosoura were reliefs of the Moirai and Zeus Moiragetes.⁷ A connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries is possibly contained in the chorus of *Mystai* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 449ff:

τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον τὸν καλλιχορώτατον παῖσοντες ὃν ὅλβιαι Μοῖραι
ξυνάγουσιν.

What, then, can we imagine more appropriate for the Fates than to attend a divine birth, by appearing along with their traditional comrade Eileithyia between Zeus, their Leader, and the Mystery gods, who (as is clear to most present-day archaeologists) are the divinities seated in the left wing of the Parthenon east pediment? Enough has been said, I think, to prove the appropriateness of their presence here.

And now, if we ask ourselves under what guise a Phidian sculptor would have represented these Moirai, our answer can only be that he must have made of them three women, identified by accessory symbols indicative of their names:

Clotho, then, must be a spinner, and for her the sculptor would have used the spinning maiden type, already in use on grave reliefs.⁸ Lachesis must be identified by *λάχη* or lots; and the third Fate, if

¹ Paus. I, 40, 4.

² Paus. VIII, 37, 1; X, 24, 4 (Zeus Moiragetes represented with the Moirai); V, 15, 5 (altar to Zeus Moiragetes near that of the Moirai at Olympia).

³ *Meisterwerke*, p. 246, with regard to the inscription C.I.A. I, 93, line 12.

⁴ Paus., VIII, 42, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 19, 3.

⁶ *Ib.*, II, 4, 7.

⁷ *Ib.*, VIII, 37, 1.

⁸ See below, p. 126.

she be Aisa, should likewise be a bestower of lot or destiny. Were she Atropos, however, it would be difficult to suggest an appropriate and logical symbol; but in any case this would *not* be a pair of shears.

And with all this the figures on the Madrid Puteal are in complete agreement.

The first of them (Fig. 1) is a seated spinner. Her raised right hand holds a distaff; and though she has no spindle in her left, this is an omission of the copyist, for the Tegel version¹ shows the spindle clearly, and the pose of the hand is not otherwise intelligible.

The second Fate (Fig. 2) holds a curious object with triple stem and blade. The interpretation in favor today explains this as a bundle of three lots of unequal shape or length (like the three straws which we still use today for such a purpose) and suggests that the Fate is drawing from these with averted gaze.

The third Fate (Fig. 3) carried in her hands some object now indistinguishable, as to which it is difficult to make a concrete suggestion. A pyxis would fit the space and the position of the hands. Perhaps, then, it is an urn of pebbles, to indicate the chance or lot; and in that case we should speak of Aisa rather than Atropos. Or perhaps it is a prophetic scroll. But whatever the lost attribute may have been, there is no indication inconsistent with what we have stated as the fifth century conception of the Fates or with the representational methods of fifth century sculpture. So far, we have seen no reason to reject the figures of the Madrid Puteal.

II. STYLISTIC CRITERIA

It has been very generally asserted² that the Fates of the Puteal were taken from fourth century prototypes, that they closely resemble the Muses of the Mantinea Basis, and that they are therefore un-Phidian and post-Parthenon in their derivation.

On Figure 4 are collected three very close stylistic parallels for Aisa: all are fragments from among those ascribed to the Parthenon pediments and published as such in the British Museum publication, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*.³ The fragment at the left is described as a "piece of drapery which must have hung free, apparently from the shoulder and outstretched right arm."⁴ It belongs to a figure about 9 feet in height and accordingly is of the same scale as the presumed pedimental original of Aisa. As on the corresponding shoulder-drapery of the Puteal Fate, flat taenia-like ridges are separated by equally wide, shallow furrows in parallel and rather monotonous arrangement, crossed abruptly by a slanting fold.

¹ Hauser, in *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, VI (1903), pp. 98-9.

² Most succinctly by Amelung, *die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea*, pp. 13-15. I have replied in this article to all of his objections.

³ Hereafter referred to as *Sc. P.*

⁴ *Sc. P.* to Pl. 13, 7.

The second fragment resembles the himation of Aisa as it is rendered between right arm and thigh, with sharply rolled ridges converging in a fan of broad shallow flutings. The smallest fragment is to be compared with the drapery of Aisa at the calf, just above the rolled edge of himation. Further, there is the famous de Laborde head,¹ which, except for a slight difference in scale,² might almost be the original from which Aisa's was copied.



FIGURE 4. THREE FRAGMENTS FROM THE PARTHENON PEDIMENTS (From *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Pl. 13, 7; 14c, 114 and 126.)

In the face of such resemblances it cannot be maintained that the style of the third Fate, at any rate, is not that of the Parthenon pediments. Especially important are the long-drawn parallel drapery lines, so coherent and consistent, not interrupted and episodic like those of the Mantinea Basis or the Tanagra Figurine style. This uniformity and continuity of line, so much closer to the old schematic formulae, is, in last analysis, the basic distinction between the fifth century drapery manner, whether of the Parthenon or the Erechtheum or the Nike Balustrade, and the fourth century manner so well illustrated on the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women in Constantinople. The Mantinea Basis patently belongs with the latter, the Fates of the Madrid Puteal just as certainly with the former.

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 362.

² The de Laborde head belongs to a figure about 8½ feet in total height.



FIGURE 5. SEATED FIGURES: (a) FROM THE MANTINEA BASIS, (b) THE GRAVE STELE OF MYNNO, (c) FROM THE ERECHTHEUM FRIEZE,
(d) FROM THE NIKE BALUSTRADE

Clotho's Parthenon ancestry is equally secure. The theme of the spinning maiden is at least as old as the sixth century, since it occurs on an archaic stele from Tyrnavo,¹ and is attested for the fifth century repertory by the grave relief of Mynno in Berlin² (Fig. 5 b). The pose of the draped woman upon a rocky throne occurs in Carrey's drawing of the Parthenon west pediment; and remnants of two draped women so seated are among the surviving fragments.³ The drapery lines between Clotho's knees and ankles are a coherent system of catenary loops, whose axis is formed by the transparent indication of right knee and shin. If this be compared with the coarser but similar treatment on the Erechtheum frieze⁴ (Fig. 5 c) and the stylistically more advanced (because freer and more elaborate) version on the Athena of the Nike Balustrade⁵ (Fig. 5 d), it will be apparent that Clotho belongs with the former of these. Nor are the Demeter and Cora of the east pediment essentially different in drapery style. The only suspicious element in Clotho is the failure of the folds above the knees to model the thighs. Herein alone the copyist may be wide of his style. Yet very similar drapery forms are used on a seated figure on the east frieze of the Nike Apteros temple,⁶ more or less contemporary with the Parthenon. To be sure, the head of Clotho has been cited in counter-evidence: it is Praxitelean, it is like the Eubouleus.⁷ But the wavy lines radiating from the crown are schematically exact and regular; and copious locks over forehead and ears are scarcely a novelty in a century that produced the Barberini Apollo and the large-featured, heavy-haired heads of the Parthenon frieze. More specifically, the V-shaped folds at the neck and between the breasts, the fan of converging folds over the left arm, the pose of the raised hand and position of its fingers, the little crumple of drapery tucked under at the other hand,⁸ are all in entire agreement with a Parthenon attribution.

Finally, there is Lachesis (Fig. 2), stylistically the most frequently and most openly accused of the three. She wears a chiton, girt high beneath the breast, and over this an himation which is turned down at the waist to form a panel-like overfold reaching nearly to the knee. The himation is crumpled over the hip and pinioned by the left elbow. (What appears to be a knot at this point is actually a projecting mass of irregular folds.) This manner of wearing the himation need not give the least offense to the modern critic. Many

¹ B.C.H., 1888, Pl. XVI; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1890, Pl. IV, 1.

² Hauser, *Neu-attische Reliefs*, p. 68.

³ Sc. P., pl. 13, nos. 12 and 13.

⁴ Casson, *Cat. Acropolis Museum*, 1075; *Antike Denkmäler*, pl. 33, 23.

⁵ E or 28; Casson, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁶ C. Blümel, *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike*, Pl. I, no. 13.

⁷ Amelung, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸ For these details, in the order named, cf. the Athena of the west pediment, Sc. P., pl. 10; the Demeter of the east pediment, Sc. P., pl. 3; Sc. P., pl. 14 A, no. 25; Sc. P., pl. 13, no. 12, and Erechtheum frieze 1078 on p. 182 of Casson.

of the elders on the Parthenon frieze¹ keep their garment in place in much the same manner, as does also the mutilated Figure 31 of the east frieze, a woman bearing a cushion upon her head. The Hera Barberini in the Vatican, the Athena Velletri in the Louvre, the Hope Athena in Deepdene, the Cora Albani, and the Cora of the famous Eleusinian relief in the Athens National Museum, all wear an overturned himation which differs from that of Lachesis only in the more or less triangular shape of the hanging panel. This style is clearly traditional by the end of the fifth century, because it appears on the Hera of the well-known Athenian decree in honor of the Samians in 403 B.C. The Aphrodite of the tortoise, in Berlin,² so generally accepted as of east pediment style, wears her himation in similar arrangement with overfold reaching to her knees. This same "panel himation," rolled at the waist, occurs unmistakably on the central figure of the east frieze,³ and the three goddesses of the right wing of the east pediment (whom we may now no longer call the Fates) have their himatia cast back to their knees. But an even, more exact, and indeed a completely satisfactory, parallel exists in the Athena Campana of the Hermitage, illustrated by Amelung in his monograph on the Mantinea Basis⁴ and there correctly characterized by the remark, "der Stil dieser Figur gehört indessen unverkennbar dem fünften Jahrhundert an." I give for comparison the version in Munich (Fig. 6), which both Wolters⁵ and Furtwängler⁶ derive from a fifth century original. Furtwängler asserts, "die Schöpfung gehört zwar in die Zeit aber nicht in den Kreis des Phidias." Between this Athena and the Lachesis I cannot discover any measurable difference in bodily proportions, so that if the latter appear to be more slender, the effect must be due to the crossing arms and the higher girdle. As to this latter item, it is not exclusively a fourth century trait, since it occurs on the Erechtheum frieze⁷ and perhaps on a fragment from the Parthenon pediments⁸ showing a right breast with billowy drapery seemingly confined by a girdle just below it. The woman in Carrey's drawing of metope XIX⁹ apparently wears a high-girt chiton with himation rolled on the right hip, and is an interesting combination of the drapery technique of Lachesis and of Aisa. As for other details, the position of the feet, the indication of the free-leg through the drapery, the arrangement of the heavy vertical folds, all agree closely with the Eirene of Cephisodotus, which is a very

¹ *E.g. Sc. P.*, pl. 32, nos. 18, 21, 22.

² Inv. Nr. 1459; Kekulé, *Gr. Skulptur* (1907), pp. 104-5; Schrader, *Phidias*, figs. 57-8.

³ *Sc. P.*, pl. 35, no. 33.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, fig. 4.

⁵ *Illustrierter Katalog der k. Glyptotek*. (1912), p. 26, no. 207; and pl. 20.

⁶ *Beschreibung der Glyptotek*. (1900), pp. 176-8, no. 207.

⁷ 2825 in Casson; *Ant. Denkm.*, II, 31, 4.

⁸ *Sc. P.*, pl. 14 C, no. 137.

⁹ *Sc. P.*, p. 33, fig. 57, the second woman.

conservative work adhering closely to the Phidian tradition.¹ And the whole pose of the figure with the rather straddling free-leg and the rigid unswaying torso is undeniably Phidian, except that the proportions are a trifle more slender. I have dwelt on the details of costume with such emphasis because the entire case against the



FIGURE 6. MUNICH GLYPTOTEK, NO. 207; TYPE OF THE ATHENA CAMPANA

Madrid Fates is sometimes made to rest on this one element of this one figure. The comparison with the Mantinea Basis has been made without adequate photographs of the Madrid Puteal. Actually, in contrast with the second Muse of the Mantinea Basis or the small bronze Athena of the Florence Archaeological Museum,² Lachesis is distinguished by the fifth century drapery technique of continuous

¹ "Sie schliesst sich so unmittelbar an die Überlieferung der perikleischen Epoche an, dass man sich nur ungern entschliesst, die Gruppe erst um das Jahr 375 v. Chr. anzusetzen." Kekule, *die griechische Skulptur*, p. 233.

² Amelung, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

and parallel lines which are not broken by crossing ridges or episodic irrelevancies. We may say of the Lachesis exactly what Amelung said of the contemporary Athena Campana, "An der Figur des fünften Jahrhunderts ziehen sich hier die Falten straff und gleichmäßig von einer Seite zur anderen."¹ For the Muse of the Mantinea Basis, as Amelung remarks, this observation does not hold good, although in most other respects the two figures are essentially alike. In this there is no mystery. The Muse of the Mantinea Basis was derived from the pedimental prototype of Lachesis, being a reworking to conform to later drapery styles. In the same way, by a change of attribute and drapery style, Clotho was converted into the seated Muse with the lute (Fig. 5a) and with even fewer changes Aisa became the Muse with the open scroll. If we accept the Madrid Fates for the east pediment,² we need not hesitate to claim that at least three of the Mantinea Muses came from the Parthenon repertory. After all, what else was to be anticipated? Since completely new and original creations hardly exist in ancient sculpture, the Muses must have had their predecessors. The Puteal gives us what was hitherto missing,—the Mantinean Muses' Attic genealogy.

The doubts occasionally cast upon the remaining figures of the Puteal are equally unjustifiable. The Hephaestus is in much the same spirit as the "Hermes" of the west pediment in Carrey's drawing and the British Museum fragment. The swirl of drapery between the legs and the crumpled mass of it upon the arm recur in the Phigalean frieze,³ which is largely a pastiche of fifth century Attic material; and a strikingly similar swirl occurs between the legs of a warrior on the Nike temple frieze.⁴ The pose and bodily proportions agree strikingly with the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo; whereby Dioscuri and Puteal confirm each other as Phidian.

The Zeus, too, is Phidian—*θαυμαστὸν δσον*. The evidence for leonine masses of hair, the *ἀμφρόσιαι χαῖται* of Homer, may best be found in such Phidian studies as that of Schrader on the Dresden Zeus and the bronze Zeus head in Vienna.⁵ The drapery over the left arm is paralleled in a Parthenon pedimental fragment of colossal scale⁶ and in the seated "Apollo" of the east frieze.⁷ The broad torso, half-turned to show with full-front effectiveness, is a Parthe-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

² I add one more stylistic indication: the drapery of the mid-fifth century Eleusinian relief discussed by Antt in *Ann. Scuol. It. At.*, vol. IV-V (pl. III) is somewhat less developed in style than that of Lachesis; while the familiar hydrophorus relief from the Ceramicus (ca. 400 B.C.) resembles Aisa, but shows the same drapery style at a considerably more developed phase. If we accept these two reliefs as *termini post quem* and *ante quem*, we shall have to date the Madrid Fates about the third quarter of the fifth century.

³ E.g. on slabs 530, 536, 540.

⁴ Blümel, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, no. 4 (l.).

⁵ Jh. Oest. Arch. I., 1911, pp. 77-88.

⁶ Ath. Mitt., 1908, Pl. I, nos. 2 and 3; Casson, p. 72, no. 3295.

⁷ Sc. P., pl. 36, no. 39.

non device common to this same Apollo, to the Zeus and Hephaestus of the frieze, and, in another form, to the "Dionysus" of the east pediment. The "unkingly" position of the feet recurs in the gods of the frieze. The whole conception is echoed on the east frieze of the so-called Theseum,¹ in the seated god from whom an armed warrior rushes away like some more impetuous and male Athena, and again in the seated Zeus on the east frieze of the Nike temple.² I hold no brief for the details of the throne, except that the little sphinx rings true.

The Athena is a study in ogival motion-lines comparable to the Eileithyia ("Iris") of the east pediment. She is copied again in the Epidaurus statuette published by Petersen³ in company with another which equally clearly is a version of the Athena of the west pediment.

Our stylistic study is complete. Every clue which we have followed has led to the same end and brought us back to the Parthenon, whose east pediment (as we know from Pausanias) concerned this very subject of the Birth of Athena. It is time to put the Puteal Fates to the final test by attempting a pedimental restoration.

III. MATERIAL EVIDENCE

If we commence with the so-called Iris (whom we shall now have to call Eileithyia hurrying away after accomplishing her task, while the Fates are beginning theirs) and, leaving her in the position in which Carrey drew her, fill the pedimental space by enlarging each of the Puteal figures to the necessary size, starting with Clotho and keeping the order and arrangement of the Puteal, we shall reach the result shown in Figure 7 and on Plate III A. But before we examine this result it is essential to discover how far it conforms to those architectural indications which Sauer has recorded in his publication of the pedimental floor-marks.⁴ And in order to utilize this highly peculiar evidence it is essential first to study the *west* pediment in the light of Carrey's drawings wherein, beyond possible doubt, are shown statues which once occupied the blocks which Sauer illustrates.

It is obvious that Carrey's drawing must somehow harmonize with Sauer's floor-plan; but it is equally obvious, to anyone who has ever made the attempt, that Sauer's plan when reduced to Carrey's scale will not fit Carrey's statues. Repeated trials have led me to conclude that in making his drawing Carrey must have stood upon some sort of scaffolding, not extending along the whole west end but placed a little to the south of the pediment center, and drawn all

¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, 406.

² Blümel, *op. cit.*, Pl. I, no. 16.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1886, pp. 309-21.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1891, pl. III and pp. 59 ff.; *Antike Denkmäler*, I, 58 A-C.

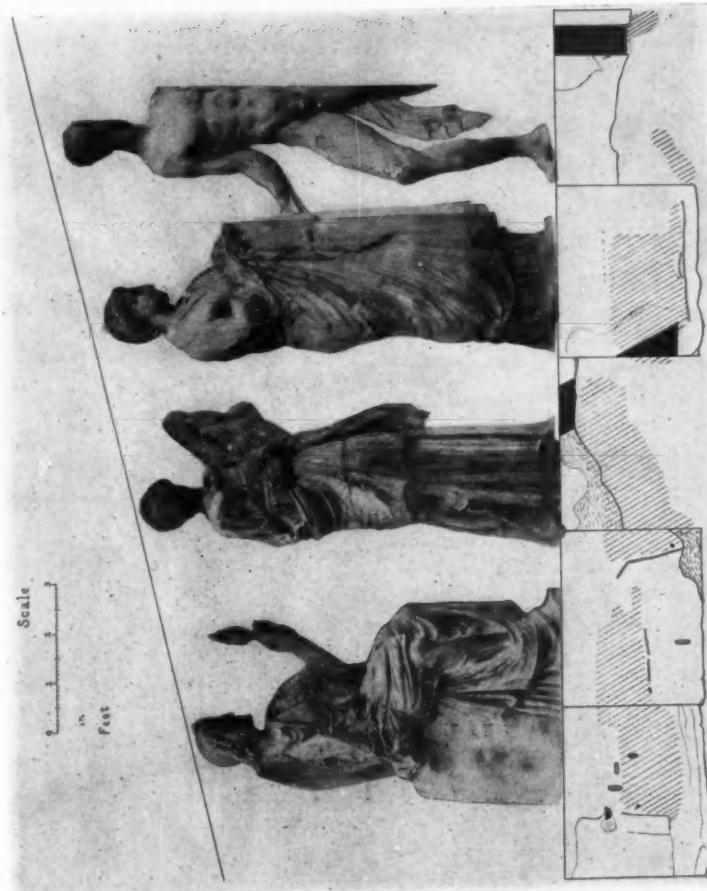


FIGURE 7. THE FATES OF THE MADRID PUTEAL IN PEDIMENTAL FORM

the figures from that single station, with the result that the wing figures (especially to the north) are too small and are out of scale with the central figures.¹ If we re-draw Carrey by correcting in accord with this optical principle, we shall arrive at some such version as my sketch on Plate III B. (In addition, the horses of Athena must be forced into much smaller space than Carrey indicates: otherwise I do not see any way of working the problem.²) If such a rectified version be accepted, the floor-marks given by Sauer will be found to harmonize with the statuary³ in accordance with the following principles:

(1) Broad iron bars at right angles to the tympanum support the weight of the horses through a stone prop (and perhaps also by a plinth carrying the hind hoofs).

(2) A slanting bar carries half the weight of Athena and half the weight of Poseidon by supporting one foot of each figure; the other foot of Poseidon is upheld by a second bar which is straight, not slanting.

(3) The outline of the plinths may usually be derived from the slightly raised setting-surfaces (indicated by a hatched line in my drawing); but the actual pose of any given figure may seldom be inferred from these lines.

(4) Hatched lines in the background near the tympanum are invariably unintelligible.

(5) Dowel-holes come close to hatched lines and confirm the belief that these are setting-marks.

(6) Pry-holes are not necessarily very close to the statues in their final position.

At the risk of being tedious it seemed necessary to make this preliminary study before attempting a restoration of the east pediment. But if we now turn to Figure 7 and Plate III A, we shall see that it is possible to utilize the figures of the Madrid Puteal and yet conform with all the preceding indications.

It will be seen that the use of the slanting bar is the same as in the west pediment. The only difficulty is the need to assume for the middle Fate a plinth somewhat broader than herself in order to bring her weight upon this bar; but the use of a plinth is not exceptional among the Parthenon statues. Half of the weight of Hephaestus is similarly taken away from the cornice by an iron bar under his foot; and here, since the bar is not shared by another statue, it has no need to be set at a slant with the tympanum. For the great central mass

¹ Cf. P. Hertz, *Kompositionen der centrale Gruppe i Parthenons vestlige Gavlfelt*, pp. 15-19.

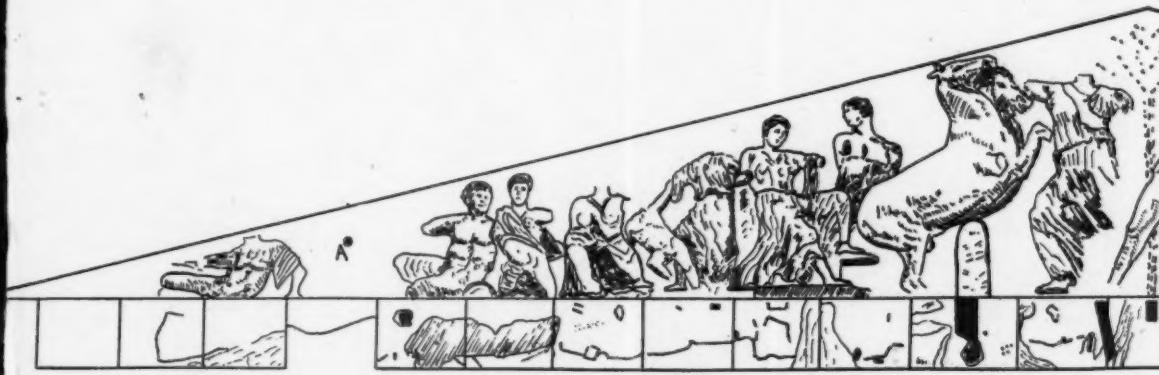
² In much the same way Carrey seems to have pulled the frieze figures out laterally in drawing them. Cf. *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1908), p. 64.

³ The marks on block 10 are to be explained as indicative of chariot-wheels which had disappeared before Carrey's time.



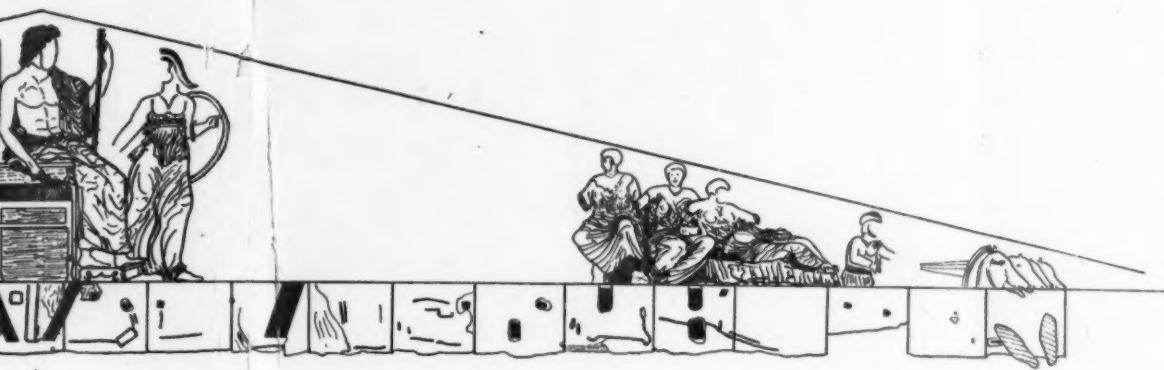


A

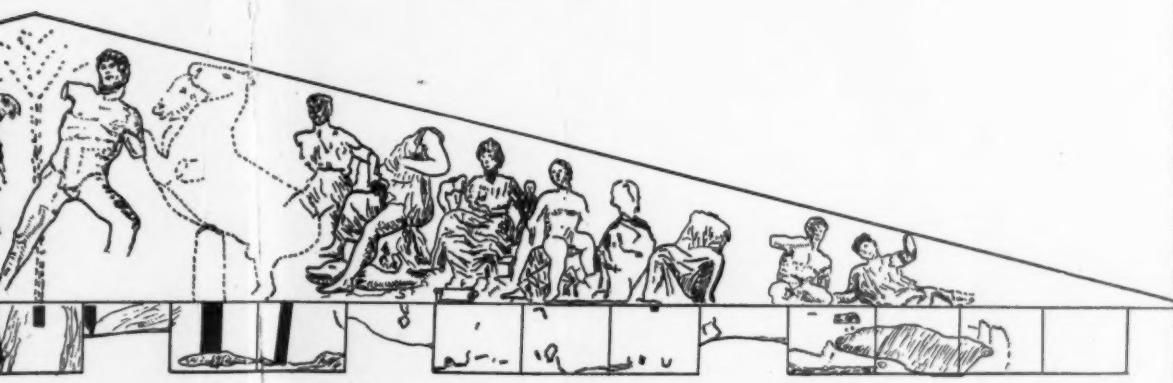


B

PLATE III. THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON: { (A) EAST PEDIMENT
 (B) WEST PEDIMENT



A



B

EDIMENT, WITH SIX FIGURES RESTORED FROM THE MADRID PUTEAL
EDIMENT, CARREY'S VERSION RE-DRAWN TO FIT THE FLOOR-MARKS



of the solid throne and the colossal torso of Zeus, two converging iron bars were used, in order to distribute the weight by spreading it. The raised ridge between these bars marks the center of the pediment; but I cannot further explain its significance for setting the statue. The footstool of Zeus fits the marks on the next floorblock to the right, which shows a peculiar diagonal corner-setting, whose function is not obvious.¹ The large square cutting near the iron bar may have served as a socket for the sceptre of Zeus. Athena is the only figure from the Puteal which will not readily and automatically fit the floor-marks. I can discover no solution which will harmonize with these indications and preserve the balance of the pedimental composition, unless the goddess is partially concealed by Zeus and is emerging from behind his footstool.² Perhaps this device served to suggest the physical issuing forth of the daughter from her father, which could no longer be shown in the naively literal manner of the black-figured vases. Except for the suppression of the flying Nike (which may equally well be included) this is the only respect in which I have ventured to depart from the strictest letter of the Puteal. To have been less conscientious might perhaps have yielded a more agreeable drawing; but one must accept the tyranny of such a method.

For the next figure to the right of Athena it is possible that we should accept the well-known torso,³ which is practically excluded from any position in the left wing of the pediment by its raised right arm. This may betoken a Poseidon leaning on his trident, for which an attachment-mark in the floor would serve. But as the torso is a trifle larger in scale than this place would readily warrant, I have not ventured to introduce it in my drawing. In any case, it is clearly to be inferred from our principles of interpreting the floor-marks that beyond Athena there came two standing figures, each of whom set a foot upon the slanting iron bar. Beyond these the raised setting-lines give the clearest possible indication of either a throned or a recumbent figure; and as the latter is out of place, we have every right to assume a seated divinity balancing Clotho. A counterpart to Eileithyia must have filled the remaining gap and completed a very exactly balanced composition, centered upon the colossal throned Zeus.

¹ This agrees, however, with a peculiar detail on the Puteal. There the long side of the footstool is *drawn in perspective* instead of being carved in relief. Is it possible that in the pediment the side of the footstool was thus *drawn* in illusionary perspective in order to gain space behind for Athena?

² The remarkable absence of any iron floor-bar here is a strong indication that the main weight of statuary in this space must have fallen well back from the edge of the cornice, close to the tympanum.

³ *Sc. P.*, pl. 13, no. 11.

IV. ESTHETIC PREJUDICES

Such a restoration is certain to arouse protest.

It will be said that it contains no trace of the compositional methods apparent in the west pediment as Carrey recorded it. To this it may be replied that the same diversity of compositional scheme is obviously characteristic of the Olympian and the Aeginetan pediments, in neither of which does east agree with west. As in the corresponding position at Olympia, the center of our restored pediment shows vertical open spaces between clearly separated (but by no means unrelated) figures.

Or again, it will be objected that the scale of the statues changes at least three times: there is one size for the wing-figures, in the Elgin marbles, a second size for Clotho and Lachesis, a third for Aisa, Hephaestus, and Athena, and a fourth for Zeus. To which we shall be constrained to answer that this may offend our own taste, but clearly did not the ancient; for the Olympia east pediment and the Parthenon west pediment change scale in just this way.

Lastly, it will be intimated that a restoration such as ours is inconceivable of the great Phidian artists of the Periclean Age. Perhaps so; yet here we are upon notoriously uncertain ground. It must be admitted in favor of my side of the argument that my sketch is a poor affair and that little alterations of placing or scale¹ or attributes might work considerable improvement. A good modern artist could perhaps do much with the hint which I have given in so baldly archaeological form.

One final point remains to be raised. I have assumed that the Puteal Fates are stylistically accurate copies of the pedimental originals. How is this possible when their prototypes were so high above the ground and so inaccessible? How, we might reply, was the Eleusis version of Cecrops and his daughter² made to the scale of $\frac{1}{3}$ its original; or how could the Hertz head³ be so accurately rendered from the lofty and inaccessible Nike of Paeonius? Is it not possible that the sculptor's original models, his *τύποι*, were either dedicated or preserved as heirlooms in the family ateliers of antiquity, to be utilized by subsequent imitators?

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¹ In particular, a less rigid observance of isocephaly and a reduction of Aisa more nearly to the proportions of her sister Fates would produce a distinct gain. All the central figures may have been taken too large in my sketch.

² Published by Philios, Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, pl. 12. Cf. p. 220

³ Röm. Mitt., IX (1894), Pl. VII; Schrader, *Phidias*, figs. 154, 156.

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ARISTIDEAN TRIBUTE IN THE ASSESSMENT
OF 421 B.C.¹

THE question to be considered in this paper, whether Athens after the Peace of Nicias lowered the tribute of her subject-allies so that they, too, might share in the blessings of peace, or whether she continued in force the high scale of Cleon's assessment of 425 has been answered in the negative by historians like Beloch and Meyer,² but it has been answered without ever having been properly considered. Except for Beloch, who dismissed the problem with a word,³ it seems never to have entered the minds of historians that Athens was faced with a real problem in 421, and they have taken it for granted that Athens shifted the burden of war debts from herself to the subject cities by refusing to lower the tribute during the years of peace.

It might be appropriate to ask, for what purpose was the war debt of Athens incurred, not that it makes much difference for what purpose war debts arise, when a country is insistent enough and strong enough to shift its burdens to the shoulders of others for whose account technically they may have been incurred. Athens could say that as defender of the Delian League she had borrowed money to carry on the war, and that the members of the league had not borne their share of the labors and expenses. But this would have been hypocrisy and unnecessary. Athens was strong enough to do as she pleased about the tribute. She had two alternatives. She could follow in the footsteps of the realist Cleon who scorned subterfuges of this sort, believing that the strong need no justification for their actions except their own advantage. She would then continue to exploit the empire merely because she could—historians have thought this the temper of Athens in 421—or she could allow the allies a share in the benefits of peace. The problem of our paper, restated, is this. Are modern historians right in assuming that the high idealism and the pan-Hellenic spirit of the Athenian Armistice Day, portrayed in the *Peace of Aristophanes*, evaporated before it

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Richmond, Va., Dec. 27, 1924.

² Meyer, *G.d.A.*, IV, 488; cf. *Forsch.*, II, 134 ff.; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 1, 356, II, 2, 342 ff.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, 1286 f.; Cavaignac, *L'Histoire Financière*, 135, 141. The problems raised by Andoc., *de pace*, 9 (*Aeach.*, ii, 175), (Andoc.) in *Alcibiad.* 11, and Plut. *Aristides*, 24 deserve separate treatment.

³ *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, 43. Beloch here saw what the situation in 421 demanded, but lacking evidence to prove a lowering of the tribute, he took the wrong course. Since that time the dates of several fragments of assessment and quota lists have been discovered. Consequently we have means of comparison not available to Beloch when he wrote his article.

found expression in an act of justice toward long-suffering allies desirous of release from their war-time burdens?

Before we consider the character of the assessment which followed the Peace of Nicias,¹ we must try to enter into the thoughts and feelings of the audience that listened to the other *Peace* in the spring of 421, the comedy of Aristophanes. The play was produced at the Dionysiac festival to which had come the allies bringing their annual payment of tribute, and as this was the very eve of peace,² every one must have known that the treaty about to be signed required Athens to exact no more than the Aristidean tribute from six of the rebels of the Thracian districts.³ By this clause Athens renounced the right both of exacting the sums assessed against Acanthus and two other cities in 425, and of raising the tribute of Olynthus and her fellow rebels of 432 to sums that would correspond with those paid by their loyal neighbors since 425.

The question of the hour must have been, are the loyal allies to fare worse than the unrepentant rebels? Two political philosophies were struggling for the control of Athens. That ruthlessly applied by Cleon, the two hundred per cent Athenian who had been killed near Amphipolis a few months before, now voiced by the less able Hyperbolus, can be summed up in the words of Thucydides,⁴ "The powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must," or in words put into the mouth of Cleon himself,⁵ "Pity and fine language and generosity to the fallen" are the things that chiefly militate against empire. The other point of view is found expressed in a quotation taken from the Melian debate,⁶ "The path of safety is to maintain our rights against equals, to be polite with superiors, and to be moderate with inferiors." Here we have expediency speaking, but an expediency of gentler strain than that of the realist Cleon, an expediency characteristic of many of Cleon's opponents now in the saddle.

But Aristophanes was moved with nobler thoughts. He spoke

¹ For the date and occasion of this assessment, see West and Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, pp. 59-69. In the spring of 421 Athens no longer had to contend with Cleon, for he had been killed in the battle before Amphipolis in the autumn of 422. Yet in a certain measure the assessment of 421 was his work, since his underrated successor Thraceward had made a reassessment of the Thracian district expedient, and his death, by clearing the road to peace, had lessened the financial pressure on Athens. The treaty, Thuc. v, 18, even required certain changes of tribute. Consequently the time was ripe for a general reassessment. But since the assessment, like the peace, was carried through by Cleon's erstwhile opponents, Nicias and the other Moderate Democrats, on a *priori* grounds, we should expect it to conform to their political views of empire. Beloch, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, 43, realized this, but he did not have the courage of his convictions.

² The treaty was ratified on Elaphebolion 25 about two weeks after the Dionysiac festival at which the play was produced. Thuc. v, 19 f.

³ Thuc. v, 18.

⁴ Thuc. v, 89; Jowett's translation.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 40; Glover, *From Pericles to Philip.*, p. 159.

⁶ Thuc. v, 111.

for those in Athens who felt a very real love for "distracted Hellas brought to wrack and ruin by this tanner fellow."¹ In Aristophanes' play from which I have just quoted, the pan-Hellenic sentiments of the author shine forth on every page. The "happy morn of Peace" was to be "the source of every joy to Hellas."² It was to

"Solder and glue the Hellenes anew
With the old-fashioned true
Elixir of love,
And attemper their mind
With thoughts of each other
More gentle and kind."³

Peace was to soften the hearts of peasants made bitter by war. The chorus sings:

"I would never more thereafter so morose and bitter be,
Nor a judge so stubborn-hearted, unrelenting and severe;
You shall find me yielding then,
Quite a tender youth again,
When these weary times depart."⁴

In particular, Aristophanes felt a deep sympathy with the subject cities vexed by many suits and burdened with tribute.⁵ He excuses them for rebelling,⁶ and he pledges to them milder treatment from the citizens gathered together in assembly.

"And they'll be milder so, and we shall live like lambs among ourselves,
And be much gentler to our dear allies."⁷

In this passage Aristophanes breathes the new spirit that was possible only after the death of Cleon and the defeat of Hyperbolus. No longer does Aristophanes speak of the subject cities, as in the passage where he describes their grievances. They are now allies. But this change of name comes only after we learn that the lamp-dealer Hyperbolus was a makeshift political light, now extinguished through the efforts of the poet, who had been fighting both for Athens and as he says for the other islands too.⁸

The audience before whom this play was presented was full of citizens from the subject cities, now become allies through the dictum of Aristophanes, and they participate in the celebration

¹ *Peace*, 269 f., 646 f.

² *Peace*, 435 f. I quote here and elsewhere from Rogers' translation.

³ *Ibid.*, 996 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 348 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 619 f., 639 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 619 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 934 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 685 ff., 760, 866, 921.

which heralds the return of the handmaidens of Peace to earth. To them is thrown the sacrificial corn, symbolic of the share that all would receive of the benefits of peace, and with the corn went the peculiarly Aristophanic comment "There's not a single man amongst them all but has at least one corn."¹

The *Peace* of Aristophanes is not to be considered merely a work of propaganda like so many of his plays. It lacks the crusading spirit, for the man against whom Aristophanes had fought for years was now dead. The *Peace*, then, is to be considered a mirror of the dominant sentiment in Athens in the spring of 421, in which the ideals of the practical politician, with his disregard for moral and spiritual considerations, had been overwhelmed by the flood of joy that peace had come, by a pan-Hellenic spirit which obliterated the bounds between former enemies² and restored to Greece that spirit of coöperation on which the Delian League had been based, a spirit now so long buried deep with the Goddess of Peace.

With Cleon dead, with the light of Hyperbolus' lamp extinguished, and with political control in the hands of men who like Nicias were working, so Plutarch says, "to deliver the other states from the evils and calamities they labored under,"³ Athens could now carry out in the assessment the promise of kindly treatment made to the allies by Aristophanes, unofficially it is true, but nevertheless made at the one official gathering of the year at which all were required to be represented. Clemency had been promised officially to the unsubdued rebels of the Thracian district,⁴ and consistency would demand a uniform policy of moderation throughout the empire.

Fortunately we are not dependent entirely upon *a priori* deductions from the choral odes and questionable puns of Aristophanes for our knowledge of how Athens felt and acted toward her allies. The reduction of tribute has left its traces in stray fragments of assessment and quota lists.⁵

Before going into the evidence furnished by these lists, it will be helpful to recall Grote's scepticism about the increase of tribute in the assessment of 425. He refused to accept the testimony of ancient authors that the tribute had been raised to anything like a thousand talents, even after the island list of this assessment, with its marked increases, had been discovered.⁶ His followers, Jowett, for example, who at first rejected Grote's conclusions, pointed to the fragmentary quota lists of the period after 424, as well as to other parts of the assessment list, and they cited figures

¹ *Peace*, 962 ff.

² *Peace*, 292 ff., and *passim*.

³ *Nicias*, 9.

⁴ *Thuc.* v. 18.

⁵ *I.G.* I², 64; *I.G.* I², 220. Cf. Wilhelm, *Anz. Wien. Akad.*, 1909, pp. 48 ff.

⁶ See Vol. VI, p. 54, note 3 and p. 52, note 4 of Dent's edition.

to show that the ratio of increase seen in the island district did not hold good even in other parts of the assessment list.¹

Now the low quotas which revived Grote's earlier scepticism in the mind of Jowett are easily understood. They are based on an assessment, that of 421, in which Athens used as her standard the pre-war figures, changing them only where catastrophe or good fortune, politics or equity, made some alteration necessary. Possibly we can call this a return to the Aristidean tribute foreshadowed in the Treaty of Nicias. Even some of the fragments of the assessment list, originally assigned to 425, are now known to be from this later assessment list.²

We are able to verify this solution of the problem, for we have a fragmentary dated quota list (420)³ in addition to portions of the actual assessment list.⁴ Certain fragments of the assessment list can be definitely assigned to this year. Other fragments are possibly from this year, although they may be from 425.⁵ In any case, if we include with those figures the dates of which are certain other high figures from the list of 425, and if we can still show that the combined list was drawn up on a scale lower than that of 425, our point will be made.

The figures most instructive are those from the quota list for the island of Rhodes, for they are most complete.⁶ We lack only the quota paid by Kamiros. Taking the island as a whole and estimating arbitrarily the tribute of Kamiros as nine talents, a 50 per cent increase, the highest rate of increase recorded for the island, we have a total increase of 43½ per cent above the pre-war figures, a very moderate increase considering the prosperity of Rhodes and the much higher increases for the island district in 425.⁷ In fact,

¹ Jowett's translation of Thucydides, Oxford, 1910, xliv ff.

² For the most recent discussion of this assessment see West and Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, pp. 59–69, with bibliography there cited.

³ Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, has shown that *I.G.* I, 262, and *Suppl.*, p. 72, 272 b are from the same quota list as *I.G.* I, 260. In *I.G.* I², they appear as No. 220.

⁴ *I.G.* I, 37 frgs. y and z'', *Suppl.*, p. 140 f. Cf. West and Meritt, *loc. cit.* These form a part only of *I.G.* I², 64.

⁵ Bannier, *B. Ph. W.*, 1916, 1067–1070, has assigned frgs. t–w of *I.G.* I, 37 to an assessment list other than that of 425–4. In the horizontal stroke above Λιβύες it resembles the list of 421. Hiller von Gaetringen assigns them definitely to *I.G.* I², 64, the list of 421.

⁶ See *I.G.* I², 220.

⁷ The quota lists show a steady growth of prosperity for Rhodes antedating the Peloponnesian War. About 440, Lindos was paying six talents tribute, *I.G.* I², 204. In 432–1 this had been increased to ten talents, *I.G.* I², 213. During the Peloponnesian War, probably at the time of the reassessment of 425, this was increased again to an unknown amount. We know of this change through fragments of one of Antiphon's speeches, *On the Lindian Tribute*, a protest against the new assessment. Cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, 1118, note, 3. In 421 Lindos was paying fifteen talents, a 50 per cent increase over the pre-war figures. Whatever the figures for 425 may have been, there can be no doubt that Lindian prosperity was responsible for this steady increase. Ialyssos, on the other hand, assessed before the war at six talents, *I.G.* I², 213, in 421 paid only five talents, a decrease to be explained by apotaxis, for Brikindaria, a deme of Ialyssos, and possibly the Diacrians of Rhodes, now pay tribute in their own names. Counting

Rhodes in 421 was paying only a trifle more than Paros in 425, although its area was six times as great and it was at the dawn of its great fourth-century prosperity.¹

Beloch, who believes that there was no reduction in 421, and in consequence takes the figures of 421 as those of the assessment of 425, expresses surprise at the low assessment of Rhodes.² It is one of the inequalities of the tribute he cannot explain. His basis of comparison is wrong. On the whole, the lowness of the Rhodian tribute can best be explained as the result of a general scaling down throughout the empire, and since we have here departures from the pre-war scale, we must presuppose that the assessors took into account the economic changes. Possibly they were trying to equalize the tribute by raising it in districts notoriously undertaxed, a feature of these war assessments on which Beloch lays much emphasis.³

I shall now show that the reduction in Rhodes is equalled or exceeded in the majority of cities whose payments or assessments are known.⁴

these two as originally Ialysonian, the increase for Ialysonian territory was from six talents in 432 to eight in 421, exactly a third. For Brikindaria, see Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV, s.v., *Ialyssos*. The total for Rhodes in 421 was 33 talents, Lindos 15, Pedies of Lindos 1, Ialyssos 5, Diacrians 2, Brikindaria 1, Kamiros 9 (estimated). It had been before the war about 23 talents, Lindos 10, Kamiros and Ialyssos 6 each, and Pedies of Lindos 2 T. If *I.G. I²*, 214 is rightly dated before 425, our figures for Ialyssos will show a decrease from ten to five talents, and our percentage of increase must be lowered. But this is uncertain. Still if we should compare the quota of 421 with that immediately preceding 425, we should have to add possibly two talents to the Rhodian tribute, thus decreasing the percentage of increase from 43½ to 32. See page 145 *infra*.

¹ The tribute of Paros by the assessment of 425, *I.G. I²*, 63 was 30 talents. For area see Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2, 369.

² *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2, 369 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 2, 371.

⁴ I must comment here on what appear to be large increases for Iasos and Miletus, the former from one to three talents, the latter from five to ten. Our last quota records for Iasos, before 421, are found in *I.G. I²*, 213 and 212, 432-1 and 433-2. In *I.G. I²*, 213 a broken H appears on the stone in such a position as to suggest that one or two initial figures have disappeared. This is an indication that the tribute of Iasos had been increased from the talent it had paid in the first three periods. Probably we ought to restore an H, possibly two, before the one on the stone. Thus the increase at Iasos would be at most 50 per cent, possibly none. The part of *I.G. I²*, 212 containing figures for Iasos is no longer legible, and the copy on which Kirchoff had to depend is hardly intelligible.

For Miletus we have no figures at all for the period between 440 and 421. Meyer, *G.d.A.*, IV, pp. 65, 71, says that at least by 432 Miletus, having regained Leros and Teichoussa, was paying ten talents tribute instead of the five she had paid before 440. I think he is right, and if he is, there would be no increase for Miletus in 421. Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. 130, also states that the tribute of Miletus before 425-4 had been ten talents. The evidence on which the statements of Meyer and Cavaignac are based is probably *I.G. I²*, 214, an inscription the date of which is still uncertain. But since both Miletus and Iasos are doubtful, I have forestalled possible criticism by including them in my list of cities whose tribute shows an increase.

TABLE I

<i>Ionic-Kariec</i>	<i>Lists from which figures are taken</i>	<i>Before 431</i>	<i>421</i>	<i>I.G. I^a,</i>
Brikinaria	<i>I.G. I^a, 198</i>	500 dr.	1 T	220 64 w.
Brykos			2	220
Diacriams of Rhodes	" 205	500		220
Diosiron	" 205	100		64 w.
Elaious of Erythrae	" 205		6	"
Edria, etc.				
Hydaia	" 198 (?)	1200	2000	"
Ialykos	" 213	6 T	5	220
Iasos	" 213	1 (?)	3	"
Ityra				4000 64 w.
Karyande	" 213	500	1000	"
Kelenderis			2	64 w. 64 v.
Kindye	" 205	1	1 ?	"
* Kolophon	" 213	4		500 220
Lindos	" 213	10	15	"
Miletus	" 205	5	10	"
Myndos	" 213	500	1000	" and 64 w.
Notion	" 213	2000	2000	"
Pedase	" 198	1	3000	64 w.
Pedies in Lindos	" 213	5060	1	220
Syme	" 211	1800	3000	64 w.
Tarbene	" 192 (?)	1030	1000	"
Telos			2	"

Names not found before 431: 6.

Tribute before 431 ca.: 30 T, 1190 dr.

Names found before 431: 17.

Tribute in 421: 51 T, 600 dr.

Tribute of cities whose names are not listed before 431: 13 T, 4000 dr.

Per cent of increase: 70.

Per cent of increase for names found before 431: 24.

* The decrease of the Kolophonian tribute was due to the seizure of the city by the Persians.

TABLE II

<i>Thracian</i>	<i>I.G. I^a,</i>	<i>Before 431</i>	<i>421</i>	<i>I.G. I^a,</i>
Aioleion	211	500 dr.	500	64
Bormiskos			1000	"
Drys				"
Gale	212	3000	10	"
Herakleion			100	"
Istasos	211	500	500	"
Kamakai			600	220
Kleonai	211	500	100	64
Mecyberna	212		10	"
Othoros	211	500	1000	"
Pharbelos	212	500	500	"
Posideion			500	"
Prassilos			900	220
Sale			3000	64
Sarte	212	1500	100	220
Serme	213	500	500	64
Singos	212	1	10	"
Sinos	212	1500	500	220
Trailos			1	64
Tripoal			500	220
Zereia			500	64
Zone			2	64

Names not found before 431: 11.

Tribute before 431: 3 T, 3000 dr.

Names found before 431: 11.

Tribute in 421: 5 T, 4830 dr.

Tribute of cities whose names are not found before 431: 5 T, 1100 dr.

Total per cent increase: 66.

Per cent of decrease for names found before 431 cannot be taken into consideration because of the unusual conditions at Singos, Mecyberna, and Gale.

TABLE III

<i>Islands</i>	<i>I.G. I²</i>	<i>Before 431</i>	<i>421</i>	<i>I.G. I²</i>
Hephaistia.....	204	3 T	2 T	220
Imbros.....	"	1	1	"
Myrina.....	"	1 3000 dr.	500 dr.	"
Total.....		5 T 3000 dr.	3 T 500 dr.	

Decrease: 2 T, 2500 dr. (ca. 50 per cent).

It is to be noted that Hephaistia probably paid 4 T tribute by the assessment of 425, *I.G. I²*, 63. Thus we have a decrease from the war assessment.

TABLE IV

<i>Hellenopontine</i>	<i>421</i>	<i>I.G. I²</i>
Bisanthe.....	2 T	64
Artaion.....	1000 dr.	"
Metropolis by Priapos.....	1	"
Otlenoi.....	2000	"
Pythopolis.....	100	"
Sombia.....	4000	" and 220.

Increase: 4 T, 1100 dr.

SUMMARY

	<i>TABLE V</i>					
	<i>Number of Names</i>	<i>New Names</i>	<i>Tribute before 431</i>	<i>Tribute of New Names</i>	<i>Tribute of 421</i>	
Ionic.....	23	6	30 T 1190 dr.	13 T 4000 dr.	51 T 600 dr.	
Thracian....	22	11	3 3000	5 1100	5 4830	
Islands.....	3	0	5 3000		3 500	
Hellenopont...	6	6		4 1100	4 1100	
	54	23	39 T 1190 dr.	23 T 200 dr.	64 T 1030 dr.	

TABLE VI

	<i>Number of Names</i>	<i>New Names</i>	<i>Tribute before 431</i>	<i>Tribute of New Names</i>	<i>Tribute of old names, 421</i>
<i>I.G. I², 37, frgs.</i>					
v, w.....	13	4	2 T 5530 dr.	10 T 4000 dr.	2 T 5600 dr.
z", etc.....	23	14	3 2160	9 800	3130
Quota list...	20	6	33	3 5400	37 5100
	56	24	39 T 1690 dr.	23 T 4200 dr.	41 T 1830 dr.

The discrepancy between the totals of Tables V and VI is due to the fact that Myndos appears in both *I.G. I²*, 64 frg. w and *I.G. I²*, 220 and that Sombia appears in both *I.G. I²*, 220 and frg. z" of *I.G. I²*, 64.

I shall combine here the data from the quota list and the assessment list to give as broad a basis as possible for our calculations. The two lists contain means for estimating the tribute of about fifty cities, twenty of which are not found in pre-war lists. The total tribute amounts to a little more than sixty talents, an increase of 64 per cent over pre-war figures, about the same as the increase of names.

Some of these are undoubtedly net additions to the list. Others like the Samothracian cities of the mainland previously had paid through their metropolis about the same amount they were now assessed. Probably they should be excluded from our reckoning.

But I have used the figures as they stand, counting everything an increase that is doubtful, and considering all names for which we have no figures preserved before 425 as though they were real, not nominal, additions to the list of tributaries.

To obtain a fairer basis of comparison it will be necessary to analyze our tables name by name. Let us begin with the Samothracian tributaries of the mainland.¹ They are not found before 421, but whether they were first assessed in 425 or 421 it is now impossible to say. Fortunately here we have a means of comparing their tribute in 421 with their earlier share in the Samothracian tribute which at first amounted to six talents. With the growth of Odrysian power on the mainland, Samothrace presumably lost control of her Peraea, for during the first years of the Peloponnesian War² the island paid a reduced tribute of two talents. Athens was in no position to protest against Odrysian aggressions at that time, for she needed the help of Sitalces, a pro-Athenian prince. His successor, Seuthes, showed little friendship toward Athens, and at the time of Cleon's Amphipolitan campaign it would seem as though Athens was strong enough to reassert her authority over this district.³ But instead of returning the cities to Samothrace, Athens enrolled them directly in the empire. Their assessment of three and one-half talents is less than the reduction granted to Samothrace because of their loss. Thus we should expect to find the assessment of Samothrace and her dependencies in 421 to be about six talents. There would have been no increase there, and we should on that account add three and a half or four talents to our total tribute paid by the cities enrolled before 431. This would lower the percentage of increase from 64 to 50 per cent.

Likewise we were probably wrong in including as cities not found before 431 Kamakai and Tripoai. They were Bottic towns and had undoubtedly contributed their share to the tribute of Spartolos. What it was we cannot say, but I think we may take it for granted that it was not less than their assessment in 421. They had just been welcomed back into the empire, and as the other rebellious cities were promised the Aristidean tribute if they would submit, it is probable that the terms granted to the Bottiaeans towns that did not wait for the Peace of Nicias were not less lenient.⁴ Others of

¹ Drys, Zone, and Sale, Hdt., vii, 59, 108; Steph. Byz., s.v. Δρύς. Cf. Perdrizet, *Rev. Et. Grec.*, 1909, XXII, pp. 33 ff. But Perdrizet dates our assessment in 425 and fails to take into account the Odrysian empire.

² Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2, 366, in computing the tribute of the Peraea as between four and five talents, does not cite *I.G.* I^a, 218, which confirms his conclusions by showing that at the height of Odrysian power the Samothracian tribute was reduced to two talents.

³ West and Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, p. 68.

⁴ For Bottic relations with Athens see Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, pp. 29-31, and West and Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, pp. 61, 64. Tripoai is found in the assessment list of 421 but since no figures are extant, I did not cite it in the table. *I.G.* I^a, 64.

this group are possibly to be found in our Thracian list, Prassilos for example, for the location of some of the Thracian towns is unknown.

Our tables show that in the Ionic and Hellespontine districts the cause for the large percentage of increase is the number of new names. For the Hellespontine list we have the name of no city found before 431. Thus the four talents of our Table IV is a net increase, almost entirely of expected tribute. Except for Sombia and the Otlenoi we have no means of telling whether the tribute was collected or not.¹ The same is true to a lesser degree of the Ionic list. Kelenderis and the Edriaean syntely may never have paid the eight talents they were assessed.

Consequently, to provide an adequate basis of comparison with the pre-war quota lists we should take the quota list of 421 which will give the actual and not the expected income. Here our increase amounts to eight and one-half talents out of about thirty-three, about 25 per cent. A glance at our last table will show how our lists have been padded by using the assessment list fragments, particularly those for which we can give no certain date.

Finally since the pre-war tribute of Miletus and Iasos is uncertain, we ought possibly to leave them entirely out of consideration. In all probability, however, there was no increase at Miletus, and at Iasos the increase was probably a talent at most. If this should prove to be correct, the quota lists would show no increase in 421 above the assessments of 431 and before.²

In one point our figures are open to criticism. The tribute of Colophon,³ since its seizure by the Persians, and of Singos, Mecyberna, and Gale, because of their dismantlement by the Chalcidians,⁴ was purely nominal in 421. By using these nominal figures we have probably made the increase seem really smaller than it was, almost six and one-half talents to be precise. Yet we have included in our figures the increased tribute of Rhodes, due as we have assumed to local developments such as increased prosperity, and we ought not to be debarred from balancing the local prosperity of one district with the loss of population in others, where our purpose is to compare the total received in 421 with the tribute of the same area in 431. When we tabulate the individual increases, and compare them with the decreases, it will be necessary of course to exclude such decreases as are due to the accidents of war.

¹ See *A.J.A.*, 1925, p. 63. The Otlenoi are to be restored in the first line of *I.G. I*, 263 b (*I.G. I²*, 221), an inscription that dates very soon after 421. See p. 146, *infra*.

² If the Kyromes, listed with the Edries, are the same as the Hyromes of the earlier lists, we must subtract from our net increase 2500 drachms. Cf. *I.G. I²*, 200.

³ Thuc. iii, 34; Meyer, *G.d.A.*, IV, 353. The Colophonians who paid their nominal tribute were probably a remnant settled at Notion.

⁴ West and Meritt, *A.J.A.*, 1925, pp. 64 ff.

There are seven proved increases in our list, not including Miletus and Iasus, six decreases, excluding Colophon, Gale, Singos, and Mecyberna, also Tarbene where the decrease is too slight to be reckoned, and Ialyssos where apotaxis is known. For eleven cities there was no change. Thus in two thirds of our list the pre-war figures were retained or lowered.

Up to this point we have assumed that cities not found in our lists before 431 were brought in by either the assessment of 425 or that of 421. This is not altogether true, for in an undated fragmentary list which, for various reasons that I cannot discuss here, must be assigned to the period before 425 are found the names Telos and the Diacrians of Rhodes.¹ Unfortunately the quotas have been lost, and no comparison is possible. But that is of little importance to us now. The really important feature of this early list is the fact that it is the prototype of the quota list of 421, also of the questionable assessment list of that year,² in having Miletus listed with her two dependencies, besides having the two new names we have already mentioned. If we had the figures, it would give us a much better basis of comparison than those we have been forced to adopt (the figures before 431) for want of better. If we had been able to use the figures of 426-5, for example, we would not have listed the two talents of Telos nor the two talents of the Diacrians as net increases. There might have been changes here, amounting perhaps to 50 per cent of their earlier quota, but even so, our net increase for the list as a whole would be reduced about two talents or more.

I should like here to analyze another fragmentary list, dating between 420 and 417,³ i.e., in the assessment period we are discussing. It contains many of the names found in our lists, and where comparisons are possible the figures are the same, Miletus, Lindos, and Karyande. Except for the petty Saros, paying 200 drachms tribute, there are no new names⁴ not found in the lists we have discussed. From it we get additional figures for the Auliatai, Karpathos, Kasos, and Chalke. The only change in tribute is that of Carpathos from 1000 to 1500 drachms. Thus to our list of eleven cities with unchanged tribute we should add three, and to our seven increases we have one to add. Not counting Lindos and Miletus, six cities of this list paid in 420 one talent 200 drachms, an increase over the

¹ *I.G.* I², 222. Wilhelm, because of the character of the writing, dates it before 425, *Anz. Wien. Ak.*, 1909, p. 51.

² *I.G.* I, 37 frgs. t-w. Nevertheless, Hiller von Gaertringen does assign them to *I.G.* I², 64.

³ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 49, and Bauer, *Klio*, XV, 188 ff., show that *I.G.* I, 263, *Suppl.* 272 a, and 272 c are from the same list; now *I.G.* I², 221. Both Kirchoff and Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, date it after 425-4, but because of its many resemblances to the quota list of 421, I think it is the list of 420-19, 419-8, or possibly 418-7. There are historical reasons also for dating it then.

⁴ By new names I mean names of cities not found in quota lists before the war.

tribute of five of them before 431 (Saros was not tributary before 431) of 700 drachms, or about 13 per cent. (It is worth noting that the Otlenoi found among the Hellespontine cities of the assessment list appear here and nowhere else as paying their quota.¹⁾

Another undated quota list from the same period, *i.e.*, after 421,² contains only island names. This is possibly the most valuable of all our fragments, for it enables us to compare the scale of assessment in force after 421 directly with the war-time assessment of 425, as well as with the pre-war figures.

TABLE VII

	<i>Before 425</i> 3000 dr.	<i>I.G. I², 63</i> ?	<i>I.G. I², 224</i> 3000 dr.
Ios			
Sicinos		1000 dr.	500
Kythnos	3 T	6 T	6 T
Naxos	6 4000	15	7
Pholegandros		2000	1000
Keos	4	10	6
Paros	16 1200	30	18
Myconos	1	?	1
	31 T 2200 dr.	61+ 3000	38 T 4500 dr.

TABLE VIII

	<i>Before 425</i>	<i>Assessment</i> <i>of 425-4</i>	<i>I.G. I², 224</i>
Sikinos	?	1000 dr.	500 dr.
Kythnos	3 T	6 T	6 T
Naxos	6 4000 dr.	15	7
Pholegandros		2000	1000
Keos	4	10	6
Paros	16 1200	30	18
	29 T 5200 dr.	61 T 3000 dr.	37 T 1500 dr.

Table VII shows an increase above the earlier figures in every case but two, but in most instances the increase is slight. Only at Kythnos is the percentage large. The total increase is less than 25 per cent.

But more instructive than the comparison between the figures before 425 and those of 421 is that between the assessments of 425 and 421. There was a decrease of nearly 25 talents out of 61, a decrease of approximately 40 per cent. There can be no question here as to the fact that the tendency of the assessment of 421 was downward.

¹⁾ At the top of *I.G. I², 263 b* (*I.G. I², 221*) we have two lines followed by a gap. Since there is no Thracian city whose fifth and sixth letters are *νο* and only one elsewhere, we must restore [*Οτάλεπο[ι]*] in line 1, [*Αφει[ε]*] in line 2, and in the gap between that and the next name we can read *Θρακιος* on the analogy of *I.G. I², 218*.

²⁾ *I.G. I², 224*. Hiller von Gaertringen dates it before 426-5, but I cannot agree with him. The figures show too many differences from those of the last lists before 425. In only one case do the figures of our stone agree with earlier payments. Thus it cannot go before 425. For exactly the same reason it cannot go in the assessment period of 425-421. Thus it must be dated after 421, or at least after another assessment. In itself, this list proves that there was an assessment after 425-4.

In this list we have two names not assessed before 431, but one of them Sikinos, like Telos and the Rhodian Diacrians, is found in a list antedating 425.¹ Table VIII shows that the island increase in 425 for the six cities included therein was about 105 per cent, whereas Tables I-VI, as they stand, show that the highest possible rate of increase in 421 was less than 65 per cent. But if we make the necessary adjustments, the percentage is considerably reduced.

Let us combine the figures of the two additional quota lists with Table V, after making the necessary corrections for Telos, the Rhodian Diacrians, Miletus, Iasos, the Bottiaeaean cities, and the Samothracian dependencies, also omitting the losses from Colophon, Singos, Mecyberna, and Gale. The total tribute before 425 is now about 78 talents, increased by the assessment of 421 to 103 talents, an increase of 32 per cent. If we make no corrections at all, the percentage of increase is 40, from about 72 talents to 103. On the other hand, if we figure on the basis of the uncorrected quota lists alone, the percentage of increase is reduced to 25. This will be reduced to 17 per cent if we make the corrections indicated above.

If we had complete assessment and quota lists for 421, we should expect to find that the assessment was higher than the tribute paid in, for an assessment list gives the estimated, not the actual receipts. Consequently we are not surprised when we find that the combined assessment and quota lists show a higher rate of increase than the quota lists alone, due mainly as we have seen to the inclusion of cities whose names do not appear in quota lists. Of course some of them did pay tribute, and it is only accident that we do not find their names in the quota lists, but there were others presumably, like Melos and the Black Sea ports, possibly Kelenderis of Cilicia and the Edriaean syntely, who were able to keep the tribute collectors at arm's length.

Our uncorrected lists show that the assessment list was approximately 12 per cent higher than the quota list. Our corrected lists give about the same variation. Let us assume that our figures taken from the undated island list are fairly representative.² There the increase of tribute in 425 was a little more than 100 per cent above what it had been before the war. Assuming again that Pedroli's estimate of 436 T for the pre-war period is accurate (it is possibly twenty talents too high),³ then the collectible tribute after being doubled in 425 would amount to 872 talents (830 talents by my estimate). Since the total of the assessment list of 425 was 960

¹ *I.G. I²*, 223. This belongs with *I.G. I²*, 222 in some year before 425, Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

² See page 146, *supra*.

³ Pedroli, *Studi di Stor. Ant.* I, 1891, 199. I have in preparation a paper on the tribute of the years 434-432. While my maximum figures are about the same as Pedroli's 436 talents, I consider it very probable that the actual figures were about twenty talents under my maximum.

talents,¹ we may assume roughly that about 90 talents (or 130 T.) was assessed against cities not actually tributary. Thus the assessment list would give a total about 10 or 15 per cent higher than the quota lists. In general our figures agree, and consequently we must give preference to the results obtained from using the quota lists.

Since the assessment list of 425 shows an estimated increase of about 120 per cent (or 133 per cent), while our estimated increase uncorrected is 40 per cent (corrected 32 per cent) and since the quota lists based on the assessment of 425 presumably showed a 100 per cent increase, while our quota lists show an increase of 25 per cent or less, it is impossible to believe that Athens continued in force the high scale of Cleon's assessment.

Since it has been assumed that the Black Sea ports assessed in 425 were added to the Hellespontine list,² it will be interesting to see how far our assumptions as to the ratio between assessment and quota lists holds good in that district. In 432 Hellespontine cities paid 73 talents tribute. Doubling this, we get about 150 talents as the sum of collectible tribute in 425. (If we take Pedroli's figures or consider that the reduction at Selymbria was ephemeral, our figures will be respectively 90 and 180 talents.³) Adding 25 per cent for new names, our total becomes now about 190 talents (225 talents according to Pedroli's higher figures). But if we are right in thinking that the chief additions to the empire were in the Euxine area, the increase would be proportionately greater in the Hellespontine district.

Moreover, we have figures to confirm this conjecture. A fragment recently declared to be a part of *I.G. I², 63* gives the total of the Hellespontine district as 250 talents.⁴ In other words, after the tribute of the Hellespontine cities in the empire before 425 was doubled, new cities assigned to this district were listed whose tribute amounted to 100 talents. As it seems unreasonable to believe that the Black Sea region was assessed at more than 100 talents, we may take 250 talents as our approximate maximum figure for the district, even though the fragment has been restored to give a sum of 295 talents.

¹ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 52. While the stone is so broken that one could restore either 1460 or 960 talents, there can be little doubt that the smaller sum is correct.

² Pedroli, *op. cit.*, 240.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 201 ff. Pedroli's figures are for the period 429-5. My figures are for the years 434-1 when Selymbria was paying only 900 drachmas tribute. I have used the figures before 431 elsewhere in this paper. Consequently I use them here.

⁴ *I.G. I*, 543, *Suppl.* p. 54. Bannier, *B. Ph. W.*, 1916, 2067 ff. assigns it to *I.G. I*, 37 (*I.G. I²*, 63), with the remark that it has been rightly restored on the analogy of frg. z''. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, says that it may belong with the assessment list of 425. Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi and Pl. I, no. 3, is obviously wrong in joining it with frg. z'', since the two overlap. Hiller von Gaetringen follows Cavaignac in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus*, No. 64.

Fortunately the Hellespontine total for the assessment of 421 has also been preserved in part, but unfortunately the stone is broken on the left in such a way that it is impossible to know whether we have lost any figures there or not.¹ The figures preserved total 95 talents and a fraction, and as there were two spaces to the left of the figures preserved, it has been assumed that the total originally amounted to 295 talents.² But this gives us a figure greater than we have considered reasonable even for 425. Furthermore, the additional 200 talents is a gratuitous restoration based on faulty analogy and an accidental similarity to, not identity with the stone of 425, just as the 295 talents restored in the earlier stone was an unnecessary restoration based on the restored 295 talents of the list of 421. But because of these restorations scholars have thought that the stones were practically identical.

Conditions in 421 were quite different from those of 425. Peace had been gained, and the moderate party were now in control at Athens. Moreover, the weakening of the Odrysian empire would naturally affect in some way the Hellespontine tribute, as it actually did, for Bisanthe in the Odrysian sphere, a new name, is assessed in 421.³ Consequently it would be surprising if the Hellespontine total of 421 was the same as it had been four years before, even without a reduction of tribute in the interval.

Curiously enough, editors in restoring the sum of 295 talents on the authority of the assessment list of 425, have not noticed that there is in the earlier list a space on the stone entirely free from figures. If we leave a similar space in the list of 421, we must be content with a sum smaller than 295 talents, either 95 talents as it stands, or 195 depending on the size of the gap.⁴

Thus the evidence of these restorations, previously accepted without question by all historians, cannot be used to disprove a reduction in 421. On the contrary, analogy of spacing requires us to assume that the reduction in the Hellespontine district was at

¹ *I.G.* II, 64, does not give it correctly. See *I.G.* I, 37 frg. 2".

² Cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 1, 330; II, 2, 342; *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, p. 42 f.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, 1120. Every editor agrees in this restoration. After restoring this to read 295 talents, they proceed to restore *I.G.* I, 543, *Suppl.* p. 54 to read 295 talents by analogy. Then arguing in a circle, they take *I.G.* I, 543 as confirmation of the original restoration, although the two stones have nothing in common, except the one figure representing fifty talents. Nor is the position of that figure the same in both inscriptions. The new edition of the Corpus, No. 64, even gives a composite reading, not showing that the two fragments overlap in such a way that they cannot be considered as parts of one stone.

³ The assessment of the Samothracian Peraea is a parallel case.

⁴ Beloch, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, p. 42 f., was tempted to restore merely an initial hundred talents, but being unable to interpret the evidence correctly, he chose deliberately the larger figure. If he had not done so, there would have been no analogy with *I.G.* I, 543, *Suppl.* p. 54, and no reason for saying that the Hellespontine tribute reached a total of 295 talents either in 425 or in any other year. We must rest content with the knowledge that the Hellespontine assessment in one year, not 421, was at least 250 talents. More than that we cannot say, for a restoration of *I.G.* I, 543 is at present impossible.

least 55 talents, from 250 (minimum) to 195 maximum, possibly 155 talents. Thus the percentage of decrease was between 20 and 60. The decrease in the island names we studied was about 40 per cent, but there presumably the increase had not been so great.

It is difficult to decide whether the Hellespontine total in 421 was 95 or 195 talents, since we do not know how many of the Black Sea cities had been dropped from the list. The difference between the tribute of 73 talents paid in 432 and the 95 (?) talents of the assessment of 421 is about 30 per cent, not very different from the increases shown by our figures. On the other hand, an assessment of 195 talents, even taking Pedroli's higher figures, meant an increase for the district of more than 100 per cent, an increase altogether too large to be accounted for except by the assumption that the Euxine district was listed with the Hellespontine and that there had been no marked reduction from the sums of 425 for these new cities. Then the reduction of fifty-five talents would have affected mainly the tributaries of long standing, not the cities from whom Athens never had collected, and probably never did collect tribute. Consequently, we shall read 195 talents if we believe that Nicias and the Moderates, who were responsible for this assessment, continued Cleon's policy of expansion, or 95 talents, if we think that they rejected that feature of Cleon's program along with his policy of exploiting the existing empire.

Let us again use our island figures for the list as a whole. If Pedroli has correctly estimated the average tribute before the war at 436 talents, since the total for the assessment of 425 was 960 talents, a sum that was never collected, a reduction of 40 per cent meant an estimated tribute in 421 of about 575 talents (675 talents if we add 100 talents for the Black Sea region). This represents an increase over the tribute paid before the war of about 33 per cent. If my figures are correct, 415 talents of pre-war tribute, the increase is not quite 40 per cent. Adding 100 talents for the Black Sea region gives us an increase of from 50 to 60 per cent. We can now tabulate the results of our study and compare them with these hypothetical figures.

	<i>Per cent of increase indicated</i>
Assessment and quota lists of 421 (uncorrected).....	64
Island list.....	25
Assessment list with three quota lists (uncorrected).....	40
Assessment list with three quota lists (corrected).....	32
Three quota lists (uncorrected).....	25
Quota list of 421-0 (uncorrected).....	25
Rhodes.....	43½
Hellespontine, estimated at 95 T.....	30

Considering the insufficiency of our data, we are struck by the general agreement, not by the divergency of these figures. The

trend was decidedly downward. Just what was assessed and how much was collected in 421-0 we can estimate only approximately. Nevertheless, I think it safe to assert that fully 300 talents were subtracted from the total of 425, and that at least a sum of 575 talents was assessed in 421.

In conclusion, the evidence presented above shows, I think, that the assessment of 421 returned to the pre-war scale, with here and there an increase and many names not found in the pre-war quota lists, bringing the total estimated tribute to a sum possibly a third higher than it had been in the days before the war. The allies were given their share in the blessings of peace. Would it be too much to say that the Aristidean tribute in its essentials had been restored?¹

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¹ I need not remind the reader that the history of Athenian finances between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian expedition must now be completely rewritten, for we have deprived Athens of at least 300 talents of annual income. If the assessment remained in force four years, the loss was more than 1200 talents. It is quite probable, however, that the next assessment, possibly in 417, doubled the figures of 421, thus giving Athens an income from tribute of about 1200 talents yearly just before and during the Sicilian expedition. But the assessment of 417 merits separate treatment.

Archaeological
Institute
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TWO HELLENISTIC PORTRAITS IN THE
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

THE Metropolitan Museum recently acquired a beautiful Hellenistic portrait statue of marble¹, about half life size² (Figs. 1-2). The head³ (Figs. 3-4) when purchased was in a separate piece but was joined to the body with plaster. Though it was evident that the



FIGURE 1. MARBLE PORTAIT STATUE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (WITH THE CAST OF A HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

joining had not been done correctly, the neck being too long, the presumption, nevertheless, was that the two belonged together. For they were said to have been found in the same place, with no other fragments; and the workmanship, the marble, and the weathering in

¹ Briefly described in the *Museum Bulletin*, April, 1925, pp. 104-6.

² Total height with cast of British Museum head 19 in. (0.483 m.); height of body 16 in. (0.407 m.).

³ Height 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (0.109 m.).

both pieces are identical. Efforts to join the head to the body in a more satisfactory way were, however, futile. The neck always proved too long, and the head appeared a little too large for the figure. Further study showed that the two must actually have formed part of two separate statues; for each reproduces a well-known type—the head that of the philosopher Chrysippus—known to us in 13 other heads (ours makes the 14th), two torsos and a headless herm;¹ the body that of an unknown sage variously identified as Aristippus and Zeno, and known to us in four other examples.² The similarity of



FIGURE 2. MARBLE PORTAIT STATUE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

¹ Enumerated by Lippold, *Röm. Mitt.* 1918, p. 19, note 2; and Poulsen, *Ikonegraphische Miscellen*, pp. 7 ff. The heads are in the Capitoline Museum (3), the Vatican, the Villa Albani, the Naples Museum, the Uffizi, the Louvre, the British Museum (2), the Glyptothek in Munich, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Steenguard, Denmark; the torsos in the Louvre and the Antiquarium Comunale, Rome; the herm in the National Museum, Athens.

² Five are enumerated by Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen*, p. 86, note 3: in the British Museum; the Barracco Museum; the Vatican; present location unknown, once in Dresden (Prof. P. Herrmann informs me this is in the Albertinum and is listed in Hettner, *Antike Bildwerke zu Dresden* (4th ed.) No. 225, p. 111, and in Herrmann, *Verzeichniss der antiken Originalbildwerke* (1915), No. 194.); and with a dealer in Rome in 1911. The first four of these are figured and discussed by K. A. Esdaile, *J.H.S.* 1914, p. 48. Lippold's fifth is identical with ours, as a photograph kindly sent me by Dr. Arndt showed. The head had then not yet been added.

work and condition may be explained by the fact that they were companion statues, exposed to the same weathering conditions, either during their "lifetimes" or after burial. None of the extant Chrysippi have both body and head; and it is hard luck that ours should not have supplied this deficiency. Of the other figures, however, there is a complete example in the British Museum, the fine bronze statue from Brindisi¹ (Fig. 5), in which head and body are in one piece, so that there can be no doubt of their belonging together. Fortunately this bronze is of about the same dimensions as our statue,

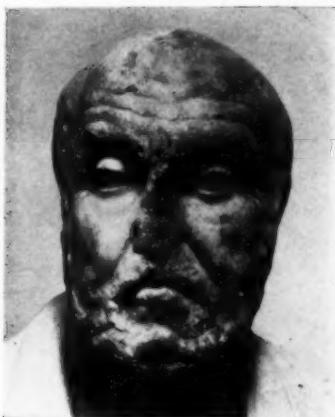


FIGURE 3. HEAD OF CHRYSIPPUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM



FIGURE 4. HEAD OF CHRYSIPPUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

so that we were able to add a cast of its head to our figure.² That it completes the composition much more satisfactorily than the Chrysippus head was immediately apparent. In size,³ pose, and general design it fits admirably. From the same source we can supply in our imagination the other missing portions of our statue—the sandalled, crossed feet and the right arm with the hand brought up to the face. Enough remains of the right arm to show that it was bent at the elbow. But whether the hand was raised to the right cheek, as in the British Museum statue, or to the mantle below the chin, where there is an otherwise unexplained attachment, is uncertain. In the torso in the Barracco Museum⁴ a similar attachment is

¹ No. 848; Cf. Esdaile, *J.H.S.* 1914, pls. II and III, and Walters, *Select Bronzes*, pl. LXV.

² I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. H. Smith of the British Museum for having this cast made for us.

³ The neck was actually about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. too wide, though the size of the shoulders was identical; so that a slight readjustment was necessary.

⁴ Cf. Esdaile, *op. cit.* pl. VI, and *Catalogue of the Museo Barracco*, pl. VI.

visible in the same place; and it is possible that we have here slight variations of detail. Our statue differs also a little in the arrangement of the folds from the British Museum example, approximating more nearly that of the Barracco Museum figure. From the latter we can, moreover, reconstruct the cushioned seat, of which only part of the pillow is preserved in our example. The cutting on the back of our figure is probably due to some circumstance of its exhibition.

To complete the Chrysippus we must imagine the head placed on a body of the type of the statues in the Louvre¹ and Antiquarium



FIGURE 5. BRONZE PORTAIT STATUE IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

Comunale (Figs. 6-7)², the neck pushed forward and sidewise in the manner of the British Museum bust³ (Fig. 8)—an admirable character study of the eager, argumentative exponent of Stoic philosophy. Since Chrysippus died in 207 B.C. at the age of 73, the statue may well have been a contemporary portrait of the end of the third century.

The identification of the Chrysippus type is a nice example of ar-

¹ Cf. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, II, p. 159, fig. 18.

² Cf. Helbig, *Führer*, I, 1012.

³ A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, No. 1846. We have mounted our head on a plaster bust copied from that in the British Museum.

chaeological detective work. From a description by Cicero "Athenis statua est in Ceramico Chrysippi sedentis, porrecta manus" (*De finibus I*, 11, 39) the headless statue in the Louvre was tentatively identified as Chrysippus by Gericke¹ and Milchhoefer.² Since Chrysippus was a native of Soli a portrait head on coins of that city³ was recognized as probably representing Chrysippus, and by comparison



FIGURE 6. STATUE OF CHRYSIPPUS IN THE ANTIQUARIUM COMUNALE ROME

with it, a series of heads in different Museums were associated with the same person. One of these heads, in the British Museum (Fig. 8), had the bust preserved, and this had mantle folds similar to those in the Louvre statue and the coin. So all evidence pointed in one direction; and yet some doubt remained, for the head on the coin might also have represented the astronomer Aratus, another distinguished citizen of Soli.⁴ The final clue came through the discovery

¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1896, V, p. 56 f.

² *Archäologische Studien Heinrich Brunn dargebracht*, pp. 37 ff.

³ Cf. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, I, Münztaf. II, 11;

⁴ Cf. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, II, pp. 145 ff.

by von Prott¹ of a headless herm in Athens with the same mantle folds and twisted neck as the Louvre statue, the British Museum head and the bust on the Soli coin; and with an inscription naming Chrysippus on its base! An ingenious supposition now became a certainty. The large number of extant Chrysippus heads is in line with Juvenal's remark (II, 4) "Plena omnia gypso Chrysippi in-



FIGURE 7. STATUE OF CHRYSIPPUS IN THE ANTIQUARIUM
COMUNALE ROME

venues," and the well-known popularity of Chrysippus in his own and later times.

The identity of the other type of seated figure—of which we have a replica of the body—has not yet been discovered. Miss Esdaile² suggested Aristippus, from its general resemblance to the statue of Aristippus in the Palazzo Spada;³ but our statue and the four other replicas form a homogeneous group different in too many important particulars from the Spada statue to warrant such identification.

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* XXVII, 1902, pp. 297 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

³ Esdaile, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

Lippold proposes the Stoic philosopher Zeno, disposing of the well-known Zeno portraits by referring them to the Epicurean of the same name.¹ But the urbane portrait of the British Museum bronze (Fig. 5) is surely not an appropriate picture of the harsh and passionate Zeno (*σκληρὸς καὶ πάνυ θυμικός*)² described by Diogenes Laertius³ as "plain, bitter, with a stern and scowling countenance and a thin, ugly body"; and by Sidonius Apollinaris⁴ as "with furrowed brow." The oxidation of the bronze of which Lippold speaks



FIGURE 8. BUST OF CHRYSIPPUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

can hardly be responsible for the lack of all these characteristics, which are so admirably brought out, on the other hand, in the other Zeno portraits. So that we must await a more convincing interpretation.

Though neither our head nor our body add anything substantially new to the archaeological knowledge of these two portrait types, the workmanship in both is so fine that artistically they rank high. Both are undoubtedly Hellenistic work, not Roman copies, and illustrate in a striking way the qualities of Hellenistic portraiture. The

¹ At first tentatively in his *Griechische Porträtsäulen*, pp. 86 f.; then more definitely in *Röm. Mitt.* 1918, pp. 19 ff.

² Athenaeus, II, 55 f. and XIII, 561c.

³ VII, 1 and 16.

⁴ *Epist.* IX, 9, 14.

beautifully modelled head with its fine skull, pensive eyes, and nervous mouth is a masterpiece both in conception and execution. It is not only a typical portrait of an intellectual, idealistic thinker, but it is at the same time a vivid character study of an individual human being. We gain an intimate acquaintance with the "quick and sagacious"¹ Chrysippus, who by his wide range of interests,² and his dialectic powers played an even greater part in popularizing the Stoic philosophy than its founder Zeno; and at the same time we obtain a realization of a typical Greek philosopher—quick-witted, analytical, absorbed in intellectual problems, and deriving therefrom a poise and idealistic quality transcending his own individual characteristics. How mistaken the former theory was that the Romans were the inventors of realistic portraiture a head such as this Chrysippus—modelled throughout in the fluid, sensitive manner characteristic of Greek work—sufficiently bears out.

The Hellenistic sculptor added considerable interest to his portraits by not confining his characterization to the head, but adding the whole figure. He was thus able to reveal his sitter's personality not merely by his features but in the attitude of the body. The quiet composure of our seated statue (Figs. 1-2) is admirably suited to the calm physiognomy of the British Museum head; very different from the fervent personality portrayed in the statue of Chrysippus, with its outstretched right arm and head eagerly bent forward.

The rendering of the drapery is noteworthy. The himation is arranged in a comparatively few, significant folds, beautifully composed with reference to a general design and yet bringing out in an admirable manner both the chief forms of the body and the heavy quality of the material. It is a treatment characteristic of the Hellenistic period. The seated statues of Posidippus and of "Menander" in the Vatican,³ the statue signed by Zeuxis⁴ and the bronze statuette of Hermarchus⁵ in the Metropolitan Museum are other beautiful examples of such studies in drapery in which the former sense of design is combined with the later naturalism in a very happy fashion. They are among the most important original contributions made by the Hellenistic sculptor, standing out among the many adaptations of former styles.

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¹ Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* III, 10: homo sine dubio versutus, et callidus.

² Cicero, *Tusc.* I, 45: in omni historia curiosus.

³ Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. 110a and b.

⁴ Metropolitan Museum, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, fig. 147. Lippold, in his *Griechische Porträtsstatuen*, pp. 83 f., has tried to identify this statue with Cleanthus from the similarity of the drapery to that of the inscribed bust (Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, pls. 505-6); but an examination of the original, where various views were possible, did not bear this out. The resemblance is slight.

⁵ Richter, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, No. 120.

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Institute
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THE CALAURIAN AMPHICHTYONY¹

THE steamer which plies between the Piraeus and Nauplia first stops at Aegina and then, about four hours out from the Piraeus, touches at Poros, the modern port of the island (of the same name) which in antiquity was called Calauria.

Calauria² lies off the coast of Troezenia in southeastern Argolis, being separated from the mainland by a strait which at its narrowest point is only about 400 yards in width. The island is a small one with a circuit of about sixteen miles and an area of about twelve square miles. Although so small in extent, yet Calauria played a prominent part in the history of Hellas, particularly in the early centuries of the "historical period."

Almost in the center of the island, at a distance of about two and a half miles northeast of the modern town of Poros, there is a plateau about 500 feet above sea level. Here on the saddle between two mountains was situated the hieron of Poseidon, in a place commanding an extensive view both to the north and to the south. On this site the excavations of the Swedish archaeologists, Wide and Kjellberg, in 1894 brought to light the remains of a temple, several stoae, and other buildings, together with the numerous remains of pottery, votive offerings, and other objects.³ Around the sanctuary lay the ancient town of Calauria, and its harbor is situated a half hour's walk to the northeast, as the remains of ship-houses around the bay of Vajonia (the modern name) testify. (The present harbor of Poros, said to be one of the finest in Hellas, is in the southwestern part of the island.)

Perhaps Calauria is best known as the place where Demosthenes died. In 322 B.C. he had fled from Athens on the approach of Antipater and had sought refuge in the hieron of Poseidon.⁴ But while this may be reckoned among the *clariora* associated with Calauria, the true importance of Calauria lies in the fact that around this hieron of Poseidon was formed and centered an amphictyony com-

¹ The most detailed, but certainly not the final, treatment of this subject is that of Wilamowitz, *Die Amphiktionie von Kalauria*, in *Nachrichten v. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1896, pp. 158-170. V. also Curtius, *Der Seebund von Kalauria*, in *Hermes*, X (1876), pp. 385-392; Volquardsen, in Burrian's *Jahresberichte*, 1876, p. 347 (a review of Curtius' article); the various histories for brief mention.

² For a description of Calauria and its ancient remains, *v. Frazer, Commentary on Pausanias*, II, 33, 2 (Vol. III, pp. 284 ff.); also next note.

³ Sam Wide and L. Kjellberg, *Ausgrabungen auf Kalaureia*, in *Ath. Mitt.*, XX (1895), pp. 267-326.

⁴ *Vitae of Demosthenes*; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, XXIX; Strabo, VIII, 374; Paus., II, 33, 3.

posed, for the most part, of "dwellers around" the Argolic and Saronic gulfs.

Aside from a Hellenistic inscription, our only direct evidence for the existence of this amphiptyony is a passage in Strabo (VIII, 374).¹ After saying that Troezen was sacred to Poseidon after whom it was once called Poseidonia, he mentions Calauria. I shall quote the important part of the passage: "Calauria is a little island having a circuit of about thirty stades.² Here there was a hieron of Poseidon, an inviolate place of refuge (or asylum). . . . Around this hieron there was an amphiptyony of seven cities which participated in the sacrifice; they were Hermon, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia,³ Minyan Orchomenos. The Argives were wont to contribute through the Nauplians, and the Lacedaemonians through the Prasians."

The Hellenistic inscription⁴ which I have mentioned is not preserved in its entirety, but enough remains to permit of the restoration of several important words, especially "hieromnamones" and "amphiptyones" or "amphiptyony." This inscription is important because it shows that the amphiptyony was in existence in the third century B.C.

We infer that the amphiptyony did not exist in the time of Strabo (first century), for Strabo uses, not the present, but the past tense in speaking of it. "There was an amphiptyony," he says. Whether or not the amphiptyony of the third century was a survival or a revival of the older league, it is impossible to say. There are advocates for both sides of this question.⁵ It must be confessed that, if the amphiptyony did exist in the fifth and fourth centuries, it is strange that no mention of it occurs in the comparatively extensive literature of the classical period. In the opinion of Wilamowitz,⁶ the existence of the amphiptyony with Athens as a member is unthinkable at the time of the exile and death of Demosthenes at Calauria in 322 B.C. He says, the Demosthenian letter which discusses the bond between Athens and Troezen and the sanctity of the asylum could not have failed to mention Athens as a guarantor

¹ The first part of the passage is from p. 373; his reference to the amphiptyony is on p. 374. Niese (*Rh. Mus.*, XXXII, p. 306) thinks that Strabo derived this note from Eratosthenes; but v. Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 169.

² The circuit of the island is nearer 140 stades. The same mistake occurs in VIII, 369. Wilamowitz (p. 163) does not believe that Strabo and Pausanias ever visited the island. (Pausanias mentions the hieron of Poseidon on the island, II, 33, 3.)

³ For convenience I have written *Nauplia* and *Prasiae*, although Strabo, in the case of these two members, has given the names of the people, *Ναυπλιεῖς* and *Πρασιεῖς*.

⁴ *I.G.* IV, 842, p. 171; Wilamowitz, p. 160; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* ², I, 1, p. 330.

⁵ For instance, Wilamowitz believes that an interruption occurred; Ure (*The Origin of Tyranny*, p. 330) believes that it "lasted on as a religious body through classical times"; v. also n. 1, to p. 160 *supra*.

⁶ Wilamowitz, p. 161 and n. 2.

of the asylum, as Athens would have been, had she been still a member of the Calaurian Amphictyony.

However, the *argumentum ex silentio* cannot be considered conclusive. Perhaps we have a hint of the survival of this amphictyony in the fact that some Athenian families sought refuge in Troezen during the Persian Wars,¹ as well as in the flight of Demosthenes to Calauria. On the other hand, one may argue that the close bond between Athens and Troezen was a heritage from an earlier period when Athens was a member of the amphictyony,² and that Demosthenes fled to Calauria simply because it was famed for its inviolate asylum. Then, too, the fact that the heron received several buildings during the fifth and fourth centuries may merely show that the cult of Poseidon continued to be maintained or that the city of the Calaurians and the cult continued to thrive and grow.

But it is really of little moment whether we believe that the amphictyony *survived* through the classical period, or whether we believe that it was *revived* in the third century. At most, it seems to me, it could have had only a religious significance in the fifth and following centuries.

As I have intimated, and as almost all scholars agree, the great period of the Calaurian Amphictyony—the period when this league was probably more than a religious association—was undoubtedly some time before the fifth century. I should be inclined to date the great period of the Amphictyony in the eighth century. Many considerations lead to this hypothesis.

(1) First, I should mention in this connection the tradition that Calauria was once called *Eirene* (Peace).³ This tradition doubtless arose from the fact that a truce was declared among the members while they were assembling at the heron in Calauria for the festival of the god.⁴ Time is required for the growth of such a tradition, and hence the truces must have been declared long before this tradition became current. This tradition appears to be credited to Aristotle, but it is obviously much older.

(2) Aegina must have joined the amphictyony before 457 B.C., the date when the island was subjugated by Athens.⁵

(3) In fact, the entry of Aegina, and also of Athens, into the league could hardly have been later than the seventh century. During the sixth century these two states, already having become bitter

¹ Hdt., VIII, 41; Plut., *Themistokles*, 10.

² It is interesting to note that Cavaignac (*Histoire de l'Antiquité*, I, 2, sec. 134, p. 236, and sec. 325, p. 366) believes that Theseus and the "Theseus saga" were introduced into Attica from Troezen, as a result of Athens' membership in this amphictyony, about the seventh century.

³ Aristotle in Plut., *Quaest. Gr.*, 19; Harpokration, s.v. Εἰρήνη; Photius, s.v. Καλαύρεια.

⁴ Cf. Wilamowitz, p. 168.

⁵ Thuc., I, 105, 108; v. also Beloch, II, 1, pp. 167, 170, and 2, p. 200.

rivals and enemies, appear to have been engaged in periodic warfare with each other.¹

(4) The last sentence in the passage quoted from Strabo is significant: "The Argives were wont to contribute (that is, be represented) through the Nauplians, the Lacedaemonians through the Prasians."² This implies that Argos and Sparta were not, to use a modern expression, "charter members" of the amphictyony. Obviously the entry of Argos and Sparta into the amphictyony is to be dated after their conquests of Nauplia and Prasiae respectively. The expansion really began in the seventh century, and the Argive conquest of Nauplia and of the greater part of Argolis probably coincides with the reign of Pheidon or the period of Argive hegemony in the Peloponnesus, that is, in the first half of the seventh century. This would indicate that the amphictyony was in existence at least as early as the eighth century B.C.

(5) The presence of Epidaurus in the list of Strabo may likewise point to this early date for the amphictyony, because the rise of Argos in the beginning of the seventh century may have brought an end to the independence of Epidaurus also. Or if Argos did not effect the conquest of Epidauria, certainly the great period of Epidaurus was before Corinth became a leading commercial state.³

(6) Minyan Orchomenos also must have joined the league at least as early as the eighth century.⁴ Obviously this city could have been a member of the amphictyony only so long as she held the sea-port Larymna or Anthedon.⁵ But, according to Beloch, Orchomenos was shut off from the sea in the seventh century, for Copae which had belonged to Orchomenos in the eighth century has become a Boeotian city in the "Catalogue."⁶

(7) Another indication of an early date for the existence of the amphictyony is given by Busolt.⁷ He argues plausibly enough that the league must have arisen before the rise of Corinth and of Chalcis

¹ Cf. Hdt. V, 82 ff., and commentaries on these chapters by How and Wells and by Macan.

² *αντειλόμενοι* might be freely translated "were represented (in the name of, or through)."

Prasiae may not have come into the possession of Sparta until the sixth century, but apparently the Prasians had come under the sway of Argos in the seventh; cf. Beloch, I, 1, p. 204, and p. 335 and notes 1 and 2.

³ According to Herodotus (I, 82), Argos had possession of the entire east coast of the Peloponnesus. Cf. Beloch, I, 1, pp. 332 ff., Ure, *loc. cit.*, pp. 176-7. At any rate, Epidaurus, early a rival of Corinth, was conquered by Periander in the early part of the sixth century; Hdt. III, 52; cf. Beloch, I, 1, p. 362.

⁴ So says Beloch (I, 1, pp. 209, n. 3; 329; 330, n. 1).

⁵ Larymna was the port of Orchomenos; v. W. A. Oldfather, Studies in the History and Topography of Lokris, in *A.J.A.*, 1916, pp. 32 ff. Bulle (*Orchomenos*, 1907) mentions two roads, connecting Orchomenos with Anthedon, which he thinks follow the courses of ancient ones. (I have not been able to verify this reference.) In this connection, I should mention the tradition that Calauria was also called Anthedonia; Aristotle in *Plut.*, *Quaest. Gr.*, 19; cf. Wilamowitz, p. 167.

⁶ Beloch, I, 1, p. 209, n. 3. *Iliad*, II, 502.

⁷ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* (2), I, sec. 6, p. 190.

and Eretria. These cities had come to the fore as commercial states and had become leaders in the colonial movement by the end of the eighth century.

(8) Perhaps we have a still more definite *terminus ante quem* in the date of the *synoikismos* of Troezen. Scholars have wondered why Troezen is not listed among the members of the amphictyony formed around a hieron on an island which not only was considered a part of Troezenia,¹ but also lies, one might say, before the very door of Troezen. But Frickenhaus and Müller² have shown that the earliest finds on the site of Troezen are to be dated in the so-called "Geometric Age," and hence that Troezen did not exist until this period. Incidentally, they point out the fact that Troezen is the only important city of eastern Argolis which was not in existence in the "*mykenische Zeit*," that is, the Bronze Age. They have explained the absence of Troezen from Strabo's list by the assumption that the Calaurian Amphictyony was formed at some time prior to the *synoikismos* of Troezen, or "*in die mykenische oder frühgeometrische Zeit*."³

Several others have also advanced the theory that this amphictyony originated "before the Dorian Invasion," or in the latter part of the Bronze Age,⁴ but few have given reasons for their belief and in many cases have followed some previous authority such as K. O. Müller.⁵ It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty, for lack of evidence, just when the amphictyony did originate. But I think that we may plausibly assign its formation to the last period of the Bronze Age, that is, to the Late Helladic Period (ca. 1400–1100 B.C.).

A clue to the date of the origin of this amphictyony may be given by archaeology. The earliest finds from the hieron of Poseidon at Calauria do not antedate 1400 B.C. These finds are described as "*mykenisch*" and "*jüngermykenisch*".⁶ Of course, the fact that the hieron and cult of Poseidon existed at Calauria in the Late Helladic Period does not prove that the amphictyony was formed in this period. But, on the other hand, we cannot think of *amphictyones* without a hieron for them to "dwell around"; the amphictyony cannot have existed before the cult or hieron around which it was

¹ Strabo, VIII, 373; Paus., II, 33, 2. Calauria was autonomous for awhile; v. Wilamowitz, p. 161 and n. 3, p. 162.

² Aus der Argolis, in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, pp. 21–38; esp. pp. 32, 33, 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴ Bolte, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Hermione*; Furtwängler, *Aegina; das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, p. 471; Macan, in Hdt. VIII, 46; Wide and Kjellberg, in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, p. 287. Cf. Meyer, II, sec. 128 (the amphictyony may be a survival of an old *Seeverbindung*).

⁵ K. O. Müller, *Aeginetorum liber* (Berlin, 1817), p. 35. It is natural that reasons or evidence have not been adduced, for the various scholars merely mentioned the amphictyony incidentally.

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, pp. 267 ff.; Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, p. 471.

centered. Therefore, we may tentatively take the date 1400 B.C.—the beginning of the Late Helladic Period—as the *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the Calaurian Amphictyony.

Assuming that the amphictyony was formed in the same period as the hieron about which it was centered,—in the Late Helladic Period,—the question naturally arises: “What people were responsible for the establishment of this hieron and (subsequently perhaps) of this amphictyony?”

It is to be noted that the amphictyony was formed around the hieron of Poseidon. Now Poseidon (or, as he was called in the “Arcadian” dialect, Posoidan)¹ appears to have been the chief, or at least a leading, deity of the Middle Helladic people, the “Minyans,” as I have labelled the *Träger* of the Middle Helladic civilization in Central and Southern Hellas.²

Of course, the Middle Helladic peoples were not one homogeneous folk. But I believe that the inhabitants of Central and Southern Hellas in the Middle Helladic Period (ca. 2000–1400 B.C.), for the most part, had the same general culture and worshipped Poseidon. Doubtless many of them spoke Aeolic and kindred dialects, for example, “Arcadian,” and, of course, many were ethnically as well as culturally related.³

Hence the fact that the amphictyony was formed around a hieron of Poseidon may indicate that it originated with these peoples whose leading cult appears to have been that of Poseidon. Ordinarily one would expect this cult and hieron to be established during the “régime” of the “Minyans”, in the Middle Helladic Period. For in the Late Helladic Period, as a result of the “Achaean Invasion” about 1400 B.C.,⁴ the cult of Poseidon seems to have declined in importance or, as the traditions inform us, Poseidon lost Aegina to Zeus, Argos to Hera, Attica to Athena, and Pytho to Apollo.⁵

However, archaeology informs us that the hieron was not established until the Late Helladic Period. Hence we must seek an explanation of this phenomenon, the establishment of a seemingly typical Middle Helladic cult in the Late Helladic Period. Some one may object to my making a problem of this and say that it is per-

¹ *I.G.*, V, fasc. 2, nos. 46 ff., 271 (from Arcadia); cf. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, IV, pp. 86–87, and n. 64.

² V. J. P. Harland, *The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age* (in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), pp. 1–62), pp. 20 ff. (Will be referred to as “P.B.A.”) Reasons for the adoption of the “label”—“Minyans”—on pp. 19–20.

My “Minyans” are not to be confused or identified with the Minya of Orchomenos, although the latter may be grouped with the “Minyans,” provided that the Middle Helladic inhabitants of Orchomenos are thought of.

³ *P.B.A.* pp. 53–56; *v. previous note.*

⁴ *P.B.A.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁵ Pythaenetus in Schol. to Pind., *Isth.*, VIII, 92; Plut., *Quaest. conviv.*, IX, 6, p. 741; Paus., I, 24, 5; 26, 5; II, 15, 5; 22, 4; X, 5, 6; Poseidon lost Corinth to Helios (Paus., II, 1, 6); cf. also Strabo, VIII, 373.

flectly natural for states combining for the purposes of transmarine trade to select Poseidon as their patron deity. But we are hardly justified in assuming a practical aim for an amphictyony at its beginning. An amphictyony was purely a religious association in its origin. The political and economic aspects developed later.

I believe that the cult and hieron of Poseidon at Calauria was established and subsequently made the center of an amphictyony solely because this god was the leading deity of the "dwellers around." I believe that the founders of the hieron and of the amphictyony were of the old Middle Helladic stock, a surviving element of the pre-"Achaean" peoples in Southern Hellas. This belief or hypothesis is based on the following evidence.

The "Achaean Invasion" (ca. 1400 B.C.) appears to have brought an end to the "régime" of the Middle Helladic "Minyans" in the greater part of the Peloponnesus, but not in all parts of this "isle of Pelops." For instance, the "Minyans" in mountain-hemmed Arcadia were able to resist further encroachments on the part of the invaders of Northwest Hellenic stock, for they were able to preserve their dialect and cult down into the classical period.¹ The same is true, to a large extent, of the "Minyans" who lived in, or were driven into, the peninsula of Mani (where Taenaron is situated), and also in Triphylia.²

But doubtless the pre-"Achaean" population was able to resist the invaders and to maintain themselves in many other places, especially in the extreme parts of a region. For example, I believe that the peoples who inhabited many of the towns on the Argolic and Saronic gulfs in the Late Helladic Period belong to this pre-"Achaean" stratum. In support of this theory, I submit the following points as evidence:

(1) According to the traditions and the statements of ancient writers, it was generally believed in antiquity that there were non-Dorian³ elements in the populations of several Argolid and neighboring towns. For instance, there was said to be an Ionic stratum of people in Cynouria,⁴ the region in which Prasiae is to be localized, and the same was said to be true of Troezen⁵ and Epidaurus.⁶

Furthermore, the inhabitants of Hermione (and of Asine which is not far from Nauplia) claimed to be Dryopians.⁷ Now the Dryo-

¹ Beloch, I, 1, pp. 88, 90; *v. Dialect Chart at back of Beloch, I, 2; and Buck, Greek Dialects (1910), Pl. V. Cf. P.B.A., pp. 18-19.*

² *Taenaron: I.G., V, fasc. 1, pp. 220 ff.; Strabo, VIII, 363; Paus. III, 25, 4; Farnell, IV, p. 41. Triphylia: Beloch, ibid. and Dialect Chart; also p. 90, n. 1, and p. 91.*

³ *Or, in other words, non-"Achaean" v. n. 1 to p. 168.*

⁴ *Hdt., VIII, 73, 3.*

⁵ *Busolt, I, sec. 7, p. 218; Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, II, sec. 128.*

⁶ *Aristotle in Strabo, VIII, 374.*

⁷ *Hdt., VIII, 43; 73, 2; Paus., IV, 8, 3; 34, 6. Cf. Beloch, I, 1, p. 91. There are even traditions which indicate a relationship between Dryopians and "Arcadians" (my "Minyans"): v. Beloch, I, 2, p. 106.*

pians appear to be of non-Dorian stock and to have entered the Peloponnesus before the Dorians and the "Achaeans."¹ Athens, of course, claimed to be non-Dorian, and Orchomenos probably preserved its Middle Helladic or "Minyan" character, for Boeotia was never completely "Doricized." There was rather a fusion of the two peoples and, besides, Orchomenos held aloof from Thebes and the Boeotian League for centuries. Not until the sixth or possibly the fifth century did Orchomenos enter the Boeotian League.² Thus, we find evidence of a non-Dorian element in the populations of almost all the cities listed as members of the Calaurian Amphictyony.

(2) Next, I shall call attention to the fact that cults of Poseidon are known to have existed and to have been preserved down through the classical period in Nauplia, Hermione, Troezen, Epidaurus, and Athens.³ As for Aegina, not only the tradition that Poseidon was forced to give up the island to Zeus⁴ implies the existence of such a cult on the island at some early time, but there is epigraphical evidence⁵ of the existence of a cult of Poseidon in Aegina. I might mention here that there was a flourishing settlement on the island in the Middle Helladic Period.⁶ It is very probable that there was a cult of Poseidon at Orchomenos, for Orchomenians appear to have participated in the festival of this god at his great cult-center at Onchestus⁷ which is less than fifteen miles from Orchomenos. The site of Prasiae has not yet been discovered.⁸

(If, as I believe, the cult of Damia and Auxesia, goddesses of fructification, is older in origin than the Late Helladic Period, then we have possibly another indication of a pre-“Achaean” element in several of the states in question, for this cult is found in Troezen, Epidaurus, Aegina, and Attica.⁹ However, this is very weak evidence and based on mere hypothesis; the cult may have spread as a result of the Calaurian Amphictyony.)

(3) Finally, it is to be noted that all the cities in the list of Strabo (with the exception of Prasiae which has not been localized) are known to have been inhabited in the Late Helladic Period.¹⁰

¹ V. n. 1 to p. 168 *infra*; also P.B.A., p. 35 and n. 1; Beloch, I, 1, p. 91; Busolt, I, sec. 7, p. 209. Cf. Hdt. I, 56; VIII, 31.

² Beloch, I, 1, p. 209 and n. 3.

³ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, pp. 79–84; Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum* (1888), pp. 9 ff.; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d’Épidaure*, 55; Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins, “Peloponnes”, p. 159. V. also Strabo, VIII, 373; Paus., II, 38, 2; 34, 10: 35, 1; I, 26, 5; Frazer, Vol. II, pp. 339 ff.

⁴ Pythaenetus in Schol. to Pind. *Isth.* VIII, 92; Plut., *Quaest. conviv.*, IX, 6.

⁵ I. G. IV, nos. 34–36.

⁶ V. J. P. Harland, *Prehistoric Aegina*, chap. I, sec. 3.

⁷ Cf. Paus., IX, 36, 4; 37, 1; Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 83. The cult of Poseidon appears to have been native to Thessaly and Boeotia (v. Farnell, IV, pp. 14–16; 76–79).

⁸ Ath. Mitt., 1911, p. 37.

⁹ V. Frazer on Paus., II, 30, 4 (Vol. III, p. 206 ff.); Hdt., V, 82–83; Paus., II, 32, 2. Cf. Wide, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-mykenische Kultur* (1921), pp. 5, 8, 9, 13.

In the light of the foregoing evidence, I believe that we are justified in assuming that the cult and hieron of Poseidon at Calauria (and subsequently the amphiptyony) were established in the Late Helladic Period by peoples belonging to the old Middle Helladic or pre-“Achaean” stratum in Hellas. All the requirements for the acceptance of this theory are satisfied: the different cities were inhabited in the Late Helladic Period, practically all of them show traces in their traditions of a non-Dorian¹ element in their populations, and all apparently had cults of Poseidon.

The amphiptyony was not necessarily formed at the same time as the establishment of the hieron at Calauria, but I should think that the association of the “dwellers around” would have formed soon afterwards, probably in the same century. The Calaurian Amphiptyony probably was primarily a league of sea-states on the Argolic and Saronic gulfs, which were united by sea-travel and the common worship of Poseidon. Orchomenos, whose early wealth and trade are attested by the Epos² and by archaeology,³ may also have joined the league in the Bronze Age, but hardly as early as the true “dwellers around” the Argolic and Saronic gulfs.

I believe that the motive which led these people to form the amphiptyony was essentially a religious one. It is hardly probable that the main object of the league at this early date—assuming that it was founded in the Late Helladic Period—was the suppression of piracy,⁴ although the trading activities of the Aegean peoples in the Bronze Age must not be underestimated. Undoubtedly the mutual protection afforded by membership in the amphiptyony tended from the start to suppress piracy in a limited area, and probably, as time went on, the scope of the league’s activities broadened considerably.

The lack of evidence precludes the possibility of sketching the history of the Calaurian Amphiptyony from its inception till its dissolution or end, but perhaps a few general remarks may be apposite. The traditional “Dorian Invasion”⁵ probably had no effect—at least no immediate effect—on the activities and welfare of the amphiptyony. Then followed the so-called “Dark Age,” a period which is called “dark” because so little light is shed upon it

¹ I believe that the “Achaeans” spoke a dialect of the Northwest Dialect Group,—I have called it “Proto-Doric”,—and that the traditional “Dorian Invasion” was but the last wave of the great migrations of Northwest Hellenic peoples, which began with the “Achaean Invasion” about 1400 B.C. (*Cf. P.B.A.*, pp. 41 ff.) Hence “Achaeans” are practically Dorians—at least they both belonged, so I believe, to the Northwest Dialect Group.

² *Iliad*, IX, 381.

³ Fimmen, p. 5, *s.v. Orchomenos*.

⁴ Cf. E. M. Walker, in *Encycl. Brit.*, *s.v. Aegina*, p. 252: “The League of Calauria . . . was probably an organization of states which were still Mycenaean, for the suppression of the piracy which had sprung up in the Aegean as a result of the decay of the naval supremacy of Mycenaean princes.”

⁵ *P.B.A.*, pp. 49–51.

by the scanty evidence from this early period. A decadent period it probably was in the field of art, but it is possible that this artistic decline was counterbalanced by a rise or advance along commercial and political lines. After the emigrations from Hellas proper to Asia Minor as a result of the displacement of peoples in the Late Helladic Period, many cities doubtless began to develop commercially and to forge ahead of their less progressive neighbors. Certainly this is true of Aegina, for how else are we to explain the tradition, found in Hesiod's *Eoeae*, that the Aeginetans were the first to invent sailing-ships?¹

In the early centuries of the Iron Age—for instance, from the tenth to the eighth centuries—the Calaurian Amphictyony could hardly have failed to acquire commercial and political importance. Possibly it was at the height of its power or influence in the eighth century, when it had probably become more of a commercial and political sea-league than a religious association. The very fact that Sparta and Argos sought and eventually obtained admittance into this amphictyony shows how influential it was in Southern Hellas in the eighth or seventh century.²

It is to be noted, in this connection, that Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian (*altkorinthisch*) pottery was found in considerable quantities at the hieron at Calauria.³ This would seem to indicate that the hieron was especially frequented in the eighth and seventh centuries. So, the archaeological evidence supports, or at least is in accord with, the hypothesis that the *floruit* of the league was in this early period. Perhaps a warning may be apropos here. One should not expect the great period of the league to be synchronous with the most flourishing period of the hieron. The hieron was probably most prosperous and most richly endowed with buildings in the fourth century,⁴ but surely no one would deduce therefrom that the Calaurian Amphictyony was at its height in this century. It should be obvious that the power or importance of a league in the eighth, or even early seventh, century cannot very well be reflected in the material remains at its meeting-place or cult-center. Permanent stone temples were rare in Hellas before the middle of the seventh century.⁵ The earliest temple at Calauria belongs to the sixth century,⁶ when the amphictyony had apparently ceased to function, at least in its original form.

The reason why we hear so little of this amphictyony has been

¹ Hesiod, frg. 76 (Rzach, 1902).

² V. p. 163 and n. 2, *supra*.

³ Wide and Kjellberg, in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 277 ff.

⁵ The extant temple of Hera at Olympia, generally considered to be the earliest temple in Hellas, is more probably to be dated in the seventh than in the eighth century B. C.

⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, p. 273.

indirectly explained. The political importance of this league had reached its high-water mark and had ebbed over a century before the great period of Hellenic literature. The amphictyony, shorn of practically all of its political and economic significance, may have continued to exist as a religious association down into and even through the classical period. In the sixth century a Doric temple was built at the hieron of Poseidon and in the fifth and fourth centuries stoae and other buildings were erected at this Calaurian sanctuary.¹ However, these building operations may merely show that the hieron of Poseidon and its asylum continued to be frequented and used, and not that an amphictyony, even in a modified form, continued to exist.

To account for the decline and probable dissolution of the Calaurian Amphictyony would virtually require a sketch of Hellenic history from the eighth to the sixth centuries, and obviously this is not the place for such an "outline of history." Probably not one but many causes and factors contributed to the decline of this amphictyony (or to the return to its original status of a purely religious league). I shall briefly present a number of possible causes, any or all of which may well have been responsible for the decline of the Calaurian Amphictyony:

(1) When Orchomenos lost Copae and Larymna or Anthedon and was shut off from the sea, the amphictyony lost one member.

(2) The rise of Argos and of Sparta, resulting in the conquests of Nauplia and Prasiae, naturally altered the original form of the organization.

(3) Possibly an amphictyony, formed around the hieron of Apollo Pythaeus² and sponsored by Argos, may have affected the Calaurian league. Both Aegina and Epidaurus as well as cities in Argolis may have belonged to it.³

(4) The rise of Corinth as a commercial state must have seriously affected Epidaurus.

(5) The rise of Chalcis and Eretria might be mentioned in this connection.

(6) The "War of the Lelantine Plain," which probably took place in the seventh century, must have involved some members of the

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, pp. 274 ff. (stoa of the fifth century); pp. 277 ff. (other buildings).

² Curtius (*v. n. 1 to p. 160, supra*) believed that the Calaurian Amphictyony was formed as a "*Gegenbund*" to that of Apollo Pythaeus. But Beloch (*I, 1, p. 205, n. 1*) is opposed to the idea of the existence of an amphictyony formed about a hieron of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos.

³ From Hdt. VI, 92 and Thuc. V, 53, one might infer that Argos presided over, or was a prominent member of, a religious league centered about a cult of Apollo Pythaeus. May Argos have formed a religious league to rival the Calaurian Amphictyony, in addition to gaining, or before she gained, admittance into the latter? However, *v. the previous note and Beloch, loc. cit.*

Amphictyony. Aegina seems to have waged war against Samos,¹ and Athens was probably on the other side.

(7) Internal dissension. Athens and Aegina became inveterate enemies and were at war with each other almost continually during the sixth century, and possibly in the seventh also.²

All in all, it is not surprising that the Calaurian Amphictyony, as a political and commercial league, came to an end. In the first place, it was a union of Hellenes and it was not their nature to remain long united with each other. Furthermore, as time went on, the different members began to develop their own individual characteristics and especial interests. It is even possible that all the members originally spoke similar or related dialects, but later on we find one speaking Ionic and another Doric. However, difference in dialect must not be emphasized. Race and dialect have little weight when politics and commercial interests are involved. Ionian Athens was not averse to an alliance with Dorian Argos and, of course, the enmity between Athens and Sparta was due, not to a difference in race or dialect, but to differences in interests and policy. Conflicting interests and policies doubtless had a disastrous effect on the Calaurian Amphictyony also.

The object of this paper was to determine, if possible, the period, in which this amphictyony was formed. I would say, in conclusion, that the date of the origin of the Calaurian Amphictyony will probably always remain a matter of conjecture. Archaeology shows that the cult and hieron of Poseidon at Calauria are very old—as old as the Late Helladic Period—and perhaps the amphictyony goes back to this period. But we have no evidence, for it is obvious that the fact that the cult existed in the Late Helladic Period does not prove that the amphictyony was formed in this same period. However, I believe that the nucleus of the Calaurian Amphictyony is to be found in a religious union of Helladic peoples of pre-“Achaean” stock, who were “dwellers around” the Argolic and Saronic gulfs, in the Late Helladic Period.

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¹ The “War of the Lelantine Plain” was apparently a Pan-Hellenic affair (Thuc. I, 15). Aegina had been attacked by the Samians in the reign of Amphiare (possibly in the seventh century) (Hdt., III, 59). Possibly this occurred at the time of the Second Messenian War, when Samos is said to have helped the Spartans (Hdt., III, 47).

² V. n. 1 on p. 163.

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A ROMAN EAGLE IN ROCHESTER

In the year 1882 a small bronze eagle was presented to a friend in Rochester, N. Y., by an American missionary to Syria. In reply to inquiries from the recipient of the gift, the donor later sent a letter which is still preserved, reading in part as follows: "I am



FIGURE 1. THE ROCHESTER EAGLE—FRONT VIEW

sorry to be able to afford you so little information in regard to the bronze eagle. It is impossible that it should be a counterfeit, as it was found in a place never visited by European or American travelers. It was presented to me together with various ancient coins in 1868, a little before leaving Turkey, by my friend the American Protestant physician of Aintab, Dr. Nersis, who told me that he had obtained it, together with two or three of the coins, from one of his patients, a peasant who had found it while cultivating his vineyard, a few miles northeast of Aintab, near Baba Doluk, or Dolik. This is the highest hill or mountain in sight from Aintab on the northeast, three hours' ride. Baba means 'father' and is a term frequently applied to hills which are sites of ancient cities or fortified places. I am not now in the possession of a classical dictionary or any large cyclopaedia for reference, but I recollect having satisfactorily

identified Baba Dolik¹ with the ancient Dolichaeum, a fortified place sometimes mentioned in ancient history."

The original Rochester owner, a man of wide culture, apparently came to the conclusion that he was in possession not only of an eagle of a Roman legion, but actually of one of those lost by Crassus as a result of the drastic defeat suffered at the hands of the Parthians in the battle of Carrhae, 53 B.C. He had the eagle mounted on a staff in imitation of a Roman standard, and to the staff he attached a brass plate inscribed with the famous verses of Horace, *Carm.* IV,



FIGURE 2. THE ROCHESTER EAGLE—REAR VIEW

15, 6–9, referring to Augustus and the return of the standards on the occasion of his diplomatic victory over the Parthians in 20 B.C.,

“Et signa nostro restituit Iovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus.”

That the relic was once the eagle of a Roman standard I see no reason to doubt, but that it was one of the Crassus eagles is not probable. Doliche is approximately one hundred miles west of Carrhae. The battle was fought in the plain some thirty miles to the south of Carrhae, but Crassus with the majority of his troops escaped the night after the battle to the city itself. Later he at-

¹ The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* calls the place “Duluk” and gives its position as two hours northwest of Aintab. The modern village is on, or near, the site of the ancient Doliche (Dolichaeum).

tempted to make his way northward by night marches into the mountainous country of Armenia out of the reach of the terrible Parthian cavalry, but his guide proved faithless and the army was overtaken and surrounded by the enemy. The Roman general was treacherously slain in a conference with Surena, the Parthian commander, and his head was cut off and sent to the king. The Roman troops were largely killed or captured. Of forty thousand men not more than ten thousand, in small and scattered detachments, eventually escaped into Syria. It is impossible to determine the exact site¹ of the final disaster to Crassus and his army, but certainly Doliche was far to the west. Yet Doliche was on the line of escape into Syria and one of the scattered bands may there have lost our eagle, or concealed it when in despair of eluding the foe. A dying *aquilifer*, Bruttius by name, buried his eagle in the battle of the Thrasymene Lake,² and in the disastrous defeat of Quintilius Varus in Germany one of the three legionary eagles was saved from capture by its bearer, who tore the eagle from its staff, concealed it in his girdle, and hid himself in a swamp.³ On the other hand, there is no allusion in ancient sources to a similar escape from capture in the retreat from Carrhae. In 104 b.c. Marius had made the eagle the sole symbol of the legion,⁴ and from that time until the summer of 53 b.c. no eagle had been lost. In the latter year Roman eagles had become the trophies of the Parthians in the east, and a Gallic tribe in the west.⁵ These prophetic disasters, particularly that of Crassus, produced a profound and gloomy impression on the Roman people. In spite of the preoccupation caused by the civil wars soon to follow, the situation was looked upon as intolerable, and great was the rejoicing thirty-three years later on the return of the standards lost to the Parthians, even though the triumph of Augustus was diplomatic in character and only potentially due to military force. Now it is a curious feature of the story that we are not told the number of the eagles lost by Crassus, or whether Augustus recovered all of them. Crassus had seven legions, and therefore seven eagles,⁶ in his expeditionary force; beyond that fact we are left to conjecture.⁷ By a policy of silence government officials may have glossed over a failure to recover all of the lost eagles, but it is difficult to explain why unofficial comment should have been likewise secretive. On

¹ The events following the attempted escape from Carrhae are somewhat obscure as regards both time and place. No contemporary record is extant, and the three writers who give a detailed account (Plutarch, Appian, Dio Cassius) are much later in date and contradict one another in certain points.

² Silius Italicus, VI, 15-40.

³ Florus, IV, 12, 38.

⁴ Pliny, *N. H.*, X, 16.

⁵ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, V, 162.

⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, II, 318.

⁷ Gardthausen has collected the numerous references from literature, sculptured monuments, and coins in *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, 2, 818-829, and II, 1, 471-477.

the other hand, it is equally difficult to explain why the number originally lost should have been left unmentioned both officially and unofficially.

For hundreds of years after the battle of Carrhae this same region was the scene of many contests between the Romans and their oriental foes, whether Parthians or their successors in empire, the Persians. The height of Roman success was reached under Trajan early in the second century of the Christian era, but thereafter fortune tended increasingly to favor the East. The Rochester eagle may well have been lost or hidden in one of these numerous wars. I may mention in particular the defeat of Galerius by the Persians in 296 A.D. on, or near, the battlefield made memorable by the downfall of Crassus. In the slowly dying Empire military disasters became so common that the loss of an eagle need not have seemed worthy of special comment.

So far I have been considering merely the possibility that the Rochester specimen is a legionary eagle. The best account of Roman military standards is given by A. von Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im Römischen Heere*.¹ The article is especially valuable for the hundred illustrations of Roman standards as represented on gravestones, on triumphal arches and columns, and on coins. Figures 3-10 illustrate the legionary eagle, standard of the legion as a whole. In each case, if we may judge by comparison with other objects on the monument, the eagle is of imposing size, probably ten or twelve inches in height. Other illustrations² show a much smaller eagle as one of the various symbols making up the standard³ of a maniple, a century, or even an auxiliary force. If we may again be permitted to judge from a comparison with other objects represented on the monument, this lesser eagle is in every case of about the same size as the Rochester specimen. It is also worthy of note that if the bearer of a legionary eagle is mentioned in an accompanying inscription, he is called *aquilifer*, while the bearer of a lesser *signum*, even though his standard carries an eagle as one of its symbols, is called *signifer*.⁴ Furthermore, all of the eagles shown by Domaszewski may be referred to two general types. Type I exhibits the bird with head and body thrown forward and wings lifted on high as in flight, or on the point of rising in flight. Just half of Domaszewski's legionary eagles plainly show this attitude, and literary tradition⁵ seems to favor it as the customary form. Type II shows

¹ *Abhandlungen des archaeologisch-epigraphischen Seminaires der Universität Wien*, 1885, 1-80.

² Fig. 33, 51, 52, 56, 57.

³ It should be noted that the eagle is not a necessary part of the standard of these smaller divisions of the army.

⁴ Domaszewski, Fig. 3, 4, 86.

⁵ Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 62.

the bird with erect posture, head turned to one side, usually the left, and with wings outspread and drooping. The other half of Domaszewski's legionary eagles show this attitude, though somewhat doubtfully, but all of his smaller eagles, together with the Rochester specimen, belong unmistakably to type II.¹

If the conclusion to be reached is that the Rochester eagle once formed part of the standard of a smaller unit than the legion—and such is my own view—then the theory that it belonged originally to the army of Crassus becomes much less improbable. Crassus must have lost some scores of standards, legionary and lesser, and it is highly unlikely that an accurate count was kept, or that thirty-three years later the Parthians could have returned the exact number missing, however good their intentions may have been. Augustus, Tiberius, and their staff were doubtless satisfied with the substance of the triumph, and it is likely that no one else was in a position, or sufficiently interested, to investigate how accurately the numbers tallied. It is an attractive and somewhat plausible conjecture that one of the small bands of the Crassan army, disorganized and fleeing in terror towards safety in the west, abandoned or buried its standard near Doliche.

It is an interesting study to compare the Rochester eagle with other existing specimens; but the eagles are too widely scattered, and the published descriptions as yet too meagre, to permit us to hope for very satisfactory results from a detailed inquiry. I have found but one list of eagles, genuine or doubtful, supposed to be still existing. It is found in the article on *Signa Militaria* by A. J. Reinach.² The passage reads as follows: "Plusieurs aigles dont la provenance est inconnue dans Causse de la Chausse, *Romanum Museum* (Rome, 1690), pl. XV et XVII; *Rec. d'ant. rom.* V, 15, dans Graevius, t. X, p. 1528 (repr. dans Duruy,³ *Hist. des Romains*, II, 484), et dans Caylus, Recueil, I, pl. XCIV, I; VI, pl. XCII, 1-3 . . . Aux musées du Louvre (Longpérier, *Bronzes du Louvre*, n. 938), de Saint-Germain, et de Spire sont conservés trois exemplaires douteux d'aigles aux ailes éployées; un autre semblable trouvé au Val de Ruz,

¹ It is a curious fact that the staffs of the lesser standards in Domaszewski's illustrations are regularly crowded with various symbols, conspicuous among which are flat, circular disks of uncertain material and meaning, whereas the shaft of the legionary eagle is a bare pole, quite unadorned. There is one striking exception to this rule. On the cuirass of the famous Prima Porta statue of Augustus in the Vatican the sculptor has portrayed the final scene of the Parthian humiliation in 20 B.C. A barbarian holds aloft a legionary eagle, which he is on the point of laying at the emperor's feet, and in this case the staff is decorated with three widely separated disks. Furthermore, the eagle itself, though predominantly of type II, shows certain characteristics of type I. I conjecture that the artist thus symbolizes the surrender of both forms of the Crassan standards, the lesser *signa* as well as the legionary eagles.

² Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Vol. IV, p. 1310, n. 13.

³ Reinach is mistaken in this reference. The illustration in Duruy is from Plate XV of de la Chausse, and only Plate XVII is reproduced by Graevius.

Antiqua, 1884, pl. XXXVII, et une aile d'aigle en bronze provenant probablement d'une enseigne trouvée à Cézéria et conservée au Musée de Louis-le-Saulnier (*Annuaire de Jura*, 1859, pl. V). Une aigle de bronze qu'une couronne surmonte portant les lettres S. P. Q. R. aurait été trouvée à Solana de los Barros (Estramadure). Cf. *Boletin de la real acad. de hist.*, 1907, p. 241.¹ . . . Peut-être faut-il voir aussi une aigle de légion dans celle qui a été trouvée au forum de Silchester, *Archaeologia*, XLVI, pl. XVII (Cf. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, p. 291).

Both of the eagles mentioned by la Chausse are described as belonging to private owners, the one to P. A. Roland, the other to Joseph Felix, "Prélat domestique du St. Père." The author considers both of them legionary eagles, but gives no indication of their size. The somewhat fanciful illustration of the first named (reproduced in Duruy, *loc. cit.*) plainly shows the eagle as belonging to type II, and therefore only doubtfully legionary. Whether either of these eagles is now in existence I have been unable to discover.

Of the two eagles illustrated by Caylus, the first is described as admirably preserved. In general appearance it is strikingly similar to the Rochester specimen; but the author gives its height as only "quatorze lignes" (approximately three centimeters), and the width between the tips of its wings as also "quatorze lignes." This eagle is so small that I am compelled to doubt the correctness of its ascription by Reinach to a military standard. Caylus makes no such claim for it. The second eagle, though its wings have been lost, is clearly of type II. Largely on account of its much greater size ("cinq pouces, neuf lignes," or about thirteen and six-tenths centimeters) Caylus assigns it to a legionary standard. Again the ascription is in my opinion very doubtful. Not only does the eagle belong to type II, but the size is only slightly greater than that of the Rochester specimen, and I should consequently assign it to one of the lesser standards. Unfortunately Caylus does not mention where his two eagles were preserved, and I have been unable to trace their later history.

Of the three "doubtful" specimens mentioned by Reinach as now preserved in the museums of the Louvre, of Saint Germain, and of Spire, the first named is briefly described by Longpérier.² It was found at Paris in the Seine, is attached to a mounting ("monture") shaped like a Y, and had apparently served as part of the decoration of a military standard. Its height is 0.14 m., and therefore but slightly larger than the Rochester specimen. Of the two preserved in the museums of Saint-Germain and of Spire I have no further information.

¹ A misprint in Daremburg et Saglio for 249.

² *Bronzes antiques . . . du Louvre*, 1879 (p. 204, no. 938).

The eagle described in *Antiqua*,¹ as found at Val de Ruz, later came into the collection of F. Beck in Neuchatel. It belongs to type II, though the wings are more widely extended than is usual in that type, and its size is approximately that of the Rochester specimen. It may possibly have formed a part of one of the lesser standards.

The *Annuaire de Jura*, 1859, with its reproduction and description of a bronze wing of an eagle probably belonging to a standard found at Cézéria and preserved in the museum of Louis-le-Saulnier, has proved so far inaccessible to me.

In the *Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia*,² the Marques de Monsalud reports the finding of a military standard of bronze at Solana de los Barros (Estramadura). Above on the standard was a small eagle with outspread wings, and below in a circle the letters S. P. Q. R. The Marques thinks the standard probably belonged to a maniple of the Legio V or Legio X quartered at Mérida, but he gives no detailed description of the eagle, nor does it appear where the standard was taken for preservation.

Last in his list comes the find at Silchester, which Reinach thinks "peut-être" a legionary eagle. J. G. Joyce, writer of the article in *Archaeologia*,³ announcing the discovery, not only is convinced that the eagle is legionary, but considers it the most important find made in the Silchester excavations. According to the description of Joyce, the eagle measures nine inches from the curve of the upper mandible to the tip of the tail. The wings have been lost, but were originally fastened in sockets on the back and rose vertically above the head. The talons appear to have clasped a thunderbolt, but the thunderbolt was not found and the talons themselves suffered mutilation when the eagle was wrenched from the staff. Every feather is carefully worked, and a small particle of the gilding which once covered the eagle still remains. Joyce conjectures that the eagle was concealed under the roof of the *aerarium* in the Silchester forum to protect it from capture during a mutiny, and that the fall of the building caused by fire resulted in the permanent loss of the standard to its legion. After its discovery in 1880, the eagle was taken to Stratfieldsaye House for preservation. A comparison of the illustration in *Archaeologia* with Joyce's description of the position of the wings shows that the eagle belongs to type I, and I see no reason to doubt its legionary character. In fact it is quite possible that this is the only legionary eagle now in existence.

In his *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, 1897-1910, Salomon Reinach gives illustrations of many bronze eagles preserved in public and private collections. Unfortunately the scope of his work permits him to add but the briefest of notes, and he confines

¹ 1884, p. 168 and pl. XXXVII.

² L (1907), p. 249.

³ XLVI (1881), pp. 363-4.

himself to mentioning where the eagles were found or are preserved, with only occasional references to published descriptions. In no case does he indicate the size of the eagle, and consequently, when other sources of information are lacking, judgment as to the military character of any specimen can hardly be more than a guess. The *Répertoire* shows four of the eagles included in the list of A. I. Reinach.¹ Three others, all of type II,² may possibly be additional specimens from lesser standards.³

In Republican times the legionary eagle was regularly of silver,⁴ under the Empire often of gold,⁵ and in its talons it generally held a golden thunderbolt.⁶ It seems probable that the same rules applied to the eagles of the lesser standards. That the silver or gold was spread over a base of bronze is proved by the fact that all existing specimens are of bronze and that the Silchester eagle still retains a small speck of its original gilding.

The Rochester eagle is approximately ten and nine-tenths centimeters in height and ten and six-tenths centimeters wide from wing to wing. Its weight is ten ounces. The tip of the right wing has been broken off and lost, but otherwise the eagle is in a fair state of preservation. On top of each of the three outer talons on either foot is a shallow groove, suggesting the possibility that the bird was wired to a separately molded thunderbolt. The relic was unfortunately cleansed with excessive zeal before it came to America. If we may judge from certain marks on its back, the patina was removed with a file, and with the patina disappeared whatever may have survived of gold or silver. An interesting feature of our eagle is that the feathers are very carefully traced on all of the parts in front and around the neck, but with less realism on the rear of the neck, whereas the back of the body and of the wings shows a perfectly smooth surface. Caylus (*loc. cit.*) reports the same facts about the larger of his eagles and suggests that the back of the bird was not visible. Sculptured representations of the lesser standards often show the eagle crowded in between other symbols above and below, and with its back at least partially concealed by the staff behind; but the legionary eagle always rises free from the summit of the staff, additional evidence, if it be needed, that neither the Caylus nor the Rochester eagle belongs to the legionary type.

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¹ II, 769, 1 (Val de Ruz), 769, 5 (Silchester), 771, 2 and 6 (Caylus, I, 94, 1, and VI, 91, 1).

² II, 771, 1 and 3 (Caylus, IV, 85, 3, and III, 65, 3), and IV, 533, 3 (Avignon).

³ To determine with any degree of accuracy the number of existing eagles, and their legionary or lesser character, will require the coöperation of directors and owners of collections all over the world. The writer of this article will gratefully appreciate further information from any source.

⁴ Cicero, *Ca.*, I, 9, 24; Pliny, *N.H.*, X, 16.

⁵ Dio Cassius, XI, 18.

⁶ Dio Cassius, XLIII, 35.

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THE PLACE OF *I.G. I*, 256 IN THE *LAPIS SECUNDUS*

In attempting to list the names of all cities tributary to Athens in the quadrennium before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, I discovered that Fimmen's reconstruction of the second stele,¹ in so far as it concerns the position of *I.G. I*, 256, could not be made to fit the conclusions I had reached. Consequently, I found it necessary to examine carefully the validity of his work, with the result that I concluded Fimmen's error was due to failure to apply a simple test to his quite unnecessary assumption that *I.G. I*, 256, a part of the quota list of 432-1, came from the bottom of a lateral face of the stele. It is actually about equidistant from both top and bottom.²

Let us assume for the purpose of argument that Fimmen was right in placing *I.G. I*, 256 at the very bottom of the stone, separated from *I.G. I*, 247 at the top by a gap the width of which Fimmen unfortunately for his assumption did not attempt to gauge. We shall now have a quota list 0.32 m. longer than that of the previous year, 433-2.³ Since six names in our inscription occupy the space of 0.10 m., and since there are two columns, it is easy to see that the list of 432-1 was thirty-six names longer than its predecessor. In other words, the increase in names is 20 per cent.

But it should be noted that the year 432-1, from which *I.G. I*, 256 comes, saw the failure of Athens to reestablish her authority over the rebels of the Chalcidian peninsula. This failure is reflected in our list by the absence of at least sixteen Thracian names from the appendices and the body of the list, names found in the quota list of

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1913, pp. 231-238. He has shown correctly that *I.G. I*, 256 and 255 (*I.G. I²*, 208) are a part of the *lapis secundus* and that *I.G. I*, 247 and 256 are from the same year, 432-1. At the top of *I.G. I*, 256 belongs another fragment published by Mr. Tod, *B.S.A.*, X (1904), pp. 78 ff. Although *I.G. I*, 247, 256 and the *B.S.A.* fragment should now be cited as *I.G. I²*, 213, it will be more convenient to refer to them by their old numbers. The other quota lists I shall cite by the numbers given them in the second edition of the *Corpus*, as follows:

<i>I.G. I</i> , 242: " <i>I.G. I²</i> , 210
" 243: " 211
" 244: " 212
" 245: " 206
" 246: " 207
" 255: " 208
" 259: " 218

² For the far-reaching consequences of this reconstruction, see Meritt's article, The Assessment of 438-7, which will appear in this JOURNAL in the near future.

³ *I.G. I²*, 212. Since it occupies a position corresponding to that of *I.G. I*, 247-256 (*I.G. I²*, 213) on the other lateral face of the stele, the two inscriptions would be of equal length, except that at the bottom of *I.G. I²*, 212 is an uninscribed portion 0.32 m. long.

433-2.¹ Thus the difference in the lists is actually fifty places, about 25 per cent of the list of 433-2.

But since Fimmen gives us the height of the stone as 2.22 m., it is not difficult to estimate the number of lines it would have contained had it been inscribed as he thought. Subtracting the seven lines of heading in *I.G. I*, 247, each occupying about .025 m. we have for the body of the inscription about 2.00 m., enough for 240 names. From this number we should subtract possibly thirty or forty names so as to provide room for headings, for cities paying epiphora, and for others whose names occupied more than one line. Even after making this deduction we have a list that contains about thirty more names than are found tributary during this period and about forty more than are found in the fairly complete list of 433-2.² In fact it contains more names than are found in the lists of any one assessment period.

If this were true, one would expect to find our quota list resembling the assessment list of 425-4³ in having new names in addition to those that had disappeared from the lists both before and after the Samian revolt. But strangely enough, so far as comparison is possible, the list is in no way different from its immediate predecessors except for the losses caused by the revolt of 432.

Nevertheless, if Fimmen should be right, the stone would indicate that Athens was trying to make up for losses of tribute in Thrace by tightening the bonds of empire and by bringing back into the fold earlier delinquents. Since this would be most important historically, if true, we must make a further analysis of the consequences of Fimmen's theory in an attempt to discover the districts in which this policy may have been followed.

The stone as reconstructed by Fimmen's plan has a complete Thracian list, practically complete appendices,⁴ and although few island names are extant, we know that the island list ended at the bottom of the first column, for at the top of the second column, *I.G. I*, 247, we find the Hellespontine heading preserved. Thus assuming with Fimmen that two lines at most are gone from the bottom of the stone, we find that the number of island tributaries has not increased proportionately to the rest of the list. Instead, the islands

¹ From the Thracian list we miss Assera, Mecyberna, Olynthos, Potidaea, Singos, Skabla, Skapsa, Strepsa, Spartolos, and Phegetos. To these names we might add Sermylia and Stolos, not found in *I.G. I*², 212. From the appendices are lacking probably Airoleion, Gale, Milkoros, Pharbelos, Chedrolos, and Pleume.

² In *I.G. I*², 212 thirty-one lines must be subtracted to ascertain the actual number of cities listed. There are two columns of 94 lines each. Thus it contains a maximum of 157 names. In this computation I have assumed that the two columns were equal in length, thus adding six names.

³ *I.G. I*, 37 (*I.G. I*², 63).

⁴ Fimmen thinks that only about two lines have been lost from the bottom. Thus the second appendix of *I.G. I*, 256 would be almost identical with the second appendix of *I.G. I*², 212 as it is found today. In this respect Fimmen agrees with the Corpus: *desunt versus haud ita multi*.

now number thirteen or less, whereas there were probably twenty-three paying tribute at this time. In other words, we have a loss instead of the gain we have been led to expect.

The gain is therefore entirely in the Hellespontine and Ionic districts. As the Ionic list occupies all but the last thirteen lines of the first column, at least 107 lines, not counting the Ionic prescript, must be assigned to it according to Fimmen's reconstruction of the stone, enough for the combined Ionic and Caric lists at the height of Athenian power. In fact, the Corpus index, *editio prima*, lists only 104 names, of which, four are found only in the appendices during this period; at least eight, the five Erythraean dependencies and Leros, Teichoussa, and Priene, now dependent upon Miletus, are no longer listed separately, and about ten are found only in one or two of the earlier lists. Thus after listing every name, including the occasional contributors, we would still have room enough for more than the usual number of cities paying epiphora.

As the Hellespontine list is 35 lines shorter than the Ionic, it would contain seventy-two lines, twenty-eight more than are necessary to list every Hellespontine name in the quota lists before 425.

For the assessment period beginning in 434-3 I have made a list of tributaries which will illustrate the impossible situation created by Fimmen's reconstruction of the stone.¹ My list contains fifty-one Ionic-Caric names, instead of one hundred seven, thirty-two Hellespontine names to go into seventy-two lines, twenty-three island names instead of fifteen, and forty-one Thracian in place of twenty-seven.

To make the discrepancy more noticeable, it is necessary only to try to complete the Hellespontine list with its extant seventeen names occupying exactly seventeen lines. It should be noted that none of these cities is listed a second time as paying epiphora. If we insert the fifteen absentees, taken from my typical list, we still have forty places to fill, a physical impossibility, unless we assume that each of the fifteen names occupied either two or three lines each.²

¹ While I was checking this list, made for another purpose, I discovered that if I put into the gap between *I.G. I*, 247 and 256 the name of every Hellespontine city paying tribute in this period, i.e., between 440 and 430, not found in our inscription, the letters which Fimmen saw on the upper corner of the broad face of frg. 1 of *I.G. I*, 256, his *Abbildung I*, letters which he said were a part of the prescript of *I.G. I*², 211 would not be on the stone at all. Similarly, *I.G. I*², 208, which Fimmen thought was a part of the third list on the other broad face of the stone, would be off the stone. Either the gap was larger than I had any reason to expect, or *Abbildung I* must be given to *I.G. I*², 210, and *I.G. I*², 208 to *I.G. I*², 207.

² The missing Hellespontine names are as follows: Azeia, Byzantium, Elaious, Lamponeia, Lampseakos, Parion, Cherronesians from Agora (all found in *I.G. I*², 212), Daskyleion (*I.G. I*², 211), Alopekonnesos, Madytos, Paisos, Priapos, Sestos (found in *I.G. I*², 210), and Perkote and Palaiperkote (*I.G. I*², 218). Possibly the two Perkotes should be omitted, for they are found in no list between 440 and *I.G. I*², 218, the date of which, since Fimmen's work, is no longer certain. It may go almost anywhere in the first years of the war.

Turning now to the Ionic list, we find that my complete typical list requires about seven places more than are found on the three fragments which make up our list.¹ This means a gap of ten lines in the second column, for the extant portion of the first column in *I.G. I, 256+B.S.A.*, 1904 (X), pp. 78 ff. extends three lines above the second column of *I.G. I, 256*. Consequently the gap between the two parts of the stone is probably between ten and fifteen lines. While the gap of about fifteen lines required by a complete Hellespontine list is longer than the gap of ten lines required by a complete Ionic list, the general agreement is evident. It is sufficient to establish the approximate accuracy of my typical lists and the approximate length of the gap.

Let us now assume that in the second column the gap between the last line of *I.G. I, 247* and the first line of *I.G. I, 256* is ten lines. Then the stone measures about 1.45 m. to the bottom of the part preserved.² Since the *lapis secundus*, according to Fimmen whose figures I shall use, measured 2.22 m., we have lost about 0.77 m. at the bottom, and there is plenty of room for the missing Island names that have caused us so much difficulty by their absence.³

We are now in a position to use *I.G. I², 212*, the quota list of the preceding year inscribed on the corresponding face of the second stele, as a standard by which to test the general accuracy of our conclusions. Except for the changes caused by the revolt in the Thracian district and for minor divergencies, the two quota lists ought to resemble one another very closely.

In *I.G. I², 212*, the Ionic district occupied the first fifty-eight lines, possibly from two to five more, of the first column. Our reconstruction of *I.G. I, 247-256* (*I.G. I², 213*) gives the first sixty-three lines to Ionic-Caric names. The Island list follows in both inscriptions, with about twenty-three lines for it in the earlier, and room for the same number in our list at the bottom of the first column in the part now lost.

The second column of *I.G. I², 212* continues the Hellespontine list, begun at the bottom of column I. It occupies about thirty-three lines. Our plan gives the first twenty-nine lines of the second

¹ The missing Ionic names are as follows: Pyrnos, Pitane, Karbasyande, Termera, Teos, Phaselis, the Ikarian Oinoe, Aulia, Pasande, Telandros, Kaunos, the Ikarian Thermai, Nisyros, Klazomene. Except for Klazomene, which is found in *I.G. I², 206*, these cities are listed in *I.G. I², 212*, the quota list of the preceding year. If not actually found, the names have been correctly restored there, e.g., Termera, in line 58, Loeschke, *De tit. alig. Atticis*, p. 13. Possibly a few other names should have been added to my list, as Assos, Lebedos, and Diosiron, but it is impossible to add many.

Since some of these names may have paid epiphora and others probably occupied two lines, we can determine the length of the gap only approximately.

² Seven lines of heading take about 0.20 m. For 75 lines of text we need 1.25 m., since six lines take 0.10 m.

³ There is nothing improbable in our assumption that the bottom of the stone was uninscribed. The uninscribed portion was altogether too short for a complete quota list, just as in 433-2, and consequently it was not used.

column to the Hellespontine district. The Thracian lists and the appendices that follow are of course much shorter in 432-1. The difference between the two lists is therefore slight except where differences are expected.

Another comparison is possible. At what point in *I.G. I²*, 212 would the line of the top of *I.G. I²*, 211, or *I.G. I²*, 210, come if it were extended around the corner? As the Corpus shows, *I.G. I²*, 210 occupies on the broad face of the stone a position corresponding very closely to that of the Thracian list in *I.G. I²*, 212. But according to Fimmen, the lower lines of the Hellespontine list, all of the Thracian list, and the two appendices of our list correspond in position not with *I.G. I²*, 210, but with *I.G. I²*, 211, the list that follows *I.G. I²*, 210 on the broad face. Thus the correspondence between the two quota lists disappears. But our reconstruction brings the top of *I.G. I²*, 210 about three lines above the place where we found it in the list of the previous year.

Probably no one would now question our conclusions as to the length of the gap and the place of *I.G. I*, 256 in the stele, except that Fimmen has recognized on the broad face to the right of fragment 1 of *I.G. I*, 256 letters that must have come from a prescript belonging to one of the quota lists of that face. This he says belongs to *I.G. I²*, 211. It is the proper distance from what he considered the bottom of the stone, *viz.*, 0.85 m. But if we assume that the bottom of the stone was uninscribed, we must shift our fragment 0.74 m. toward the top.¹ Then the prescript, *Abbildung I* of Fimmen's article, is 1.59 m. from the bottom of the stone or 0.63 m. from the top.

Here is the test for our hypothesis and the assumptions on which it was based. The heading of *I.G. I²*, 211 is about 0.63 m. from the top of the stone.² The *Abbildung* belongs therefore to *I.G. I²*, 210, not to *I.G. I²*, 211, to the twentieth, not to the twenty-first year. It should read: 'Ἐπὶ [τέσ ε]ι[κοστὲς ἀρχὲς, ἡεὶ Θοινιλος³ — — —] Ἀχαρ[νε]ὸς ἔγραμμάτευε. | - [Ηελλενο]τ[αμίας ἐν — — — ἐκ Κεραμ]έον.

This reading obviates a difficulty created by Fimmen's theory of reconstruction. He saw clearly an *iota* where it could not be if the ordinary formula, *ἐπὶ τέσ πρότες καὶ εικοστὲς ἀρχὲς*, was used.⁴

¹ Since Fimmen assumed a loss of two lines at the bottom, we have not shifted the stone the full 0.77 m. upward, but 0.77 m. minus the space of two lines, or 0.74 m.

² Until *I.G. I²*, 212 is properly reconstructed, it is impossible to give the exact height of the stone above the prescript of *I.G. I²*, 210.

³ For the name of the secretary, see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, 1921, p. 244.

⁴ In the following copy of the *Abbildung*, I have placed within brackets those letters which Fimmen drew with dotted lines to show that they are more or less indistinct. The others cannot be any too clear:

E T I [T E Ξ M]I
Ε Λ [P A M M A] T
Ι Ο Ν Ι Κ Ο Σ Φ Ο Ρ Ι O E

Of the first *epsilon* in the second line he marks as comparatively legible the two upper cross bars. Of the *gamma* he gives a part of the left hand downward stroke.

Thus he was forced by the *iota* to adopt the unusual, if not anomalous, form ἐπὶ τὲς μᾶς καὶ εἰκοστὲς ἀρχῆς. Our reading, however, has the *iota* in the proper place. Fimmen justifies his reading with the statement that the breadth of the stone requires fifty-seven letters as they are spaced in the extant part of *I.G. I², 211*. Consequently there would be no room for the two extra letters demanded by the use of πρότες. Nevertheless, as can be readily seen, the spacing shows considerable irregularities, enough to make it unsafe to figure too closely. Moreover, since the columns vary in width, it is impossible to argue from the number of letters over the last two columns as to the number of letters over the first three which have not been preserved. Nor are these headings strictly στοιχηδόν. Thus until there is proof to the contrary, we should restore the heading of *I.G. I², 211* to read, [ἐπὶ τὲς πρότες καὶ εἰκοστὲς ἀρχῆς, ἡεὶ Προτόνικος ἐκ Κεραμέου Ἐπιχάρος] [ἐγγραμμάτευε, if necessary omitting the *h* of *ἡεὶ*.¹

Another letter which Fimmen marks as clearly distinguishable is the *tau* of ἐγγραμμάτευε. Since it is found where the *tau* of Ηλλενοραμίας should be, we may regard our reading as established by Fimmen's *Abbildung*, despite the fact that he seems to have convinced himself that the bare traces of other letters, none of which he marks as distinctly legible, were as he gives them and not as we have assumed. Nevertheless, he is very careful to state that the stone is very much weathered and marked by water. Thus it was difficult for him to read the letters he transcribes, and no one before him had even seen them. So rough is the surface that the Corpus says of it, *non solum non scriptus, sed ne laevigatus quidem*. Because of this difficulty I feel no hesitancy about proposing another reading, especially as it agrees with his in every letter for which he claims complete legibility and gives us faultless Greek.

To continue, on the broad face of the stone opposite to Fimmen's *Abbildung* is found *I.G. I², 208*. Since the heading which Fimmen discovered is now known to belong to the second of the three inscriptions on one face, having been elevated 0.74 m., *I.G. I², 208* can no longer be assigned to the third year of the corresponding face. It too has been elevated 0.74 m., and there is now more than room enough for a complete list below it. Therefore it belongs to the second of the three lists inscribed on that face of the stone and with *I.G. I², 207* dates from 438-7.² We now have a large part of the

¹ For an analogous difficulty, see the heading of *I.G.I.², 212*. Fimmen's date for this is the twenty-second year. Since lines 2 and 5 seem to require 14 letters, we cannot read ἐπὶ τὲς δεκάτες καὶ εἰκοστὲς ἀρχῆς. The alternative, ἐπὶ τὲς δυοκατεῖκος τὲς ἀρχῆς though not satisfactory, having 14 letters in the first line, would seem to be correct, as Fimmen points out.

² The heading should be restored: [ἐπὶ τὲς [heβδόμεις καὶ δεκάτες ἀρχῆς, ἡεὶ — — νότοις] [ἐγγραμμάτευε. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, 1921, p. 243, gives the demotic of the secretary as 'Αγρούσιος or 'Παμοβεντος.

stone on which this list was inscribed, although most of the letters are no longer legible. Negatively, however, this may be important for it may serve as a means of proving that certain fragments do not belong here. Moreover, it leaves one year, 437-6, without any names extant.

In conclusion, Fimmen's assumption that *I.G. I*, 256 came from the bottom of the stele leaves us with impossibly long Ionic and Hellespontine lists and an Island list as short as the others are long. Furthermore, the assumption is unnecessary, for by raising the inscription to the point where our Ionic and Hellespontine lists are of the proper length, we find that Fimmen's *Abbildung*, now in line with the prescript of *I.G. I²*, 210, has clearly preserved in the proper places letters which almost require that we assign it to the twentieth year, *i.e.*, to *I.G. I²*, 210, not to *I.G. I²*, 211. Finally, when reconstructed as we have suggested, *I.G. I*, 247-256 (*I.G. I²*, 213) parallels very closely its counterpart, *I.G. I²*, 212, the quota list of the preceding year.

The following table shows the obvious changes required by our reconstruction of the *lapis secundus*:

438-7 B.C. *I.G. I²*, 207, 208.

437-6 B.C. Frg. 11 of *lapis secundus*, *nunc muro inmissa*.

435-4 B.C. *I.G. I²*, 210 and Fimmen's *Abbildung 1*.

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ADDENDUM

In confirmation of the conclusions stated in the foregoing paper, I quote verbatim from a letter written by Professor Sidney Deane to Professor B. D. Meritt, with whom I had discussed the various problems of this paper and from whom I have received many helpful suggestions. The letter was received too late to be incorporated in the paper.

Professor Deane writes: "In the first line the only letters really distinguishable are

E ⌂ I |

"In the second I read

H E ⌂ T

"I am quite sure of the H, which confirms your reading. Between

the E and V is a troublesome X, a part of which I think Fimmen may have taken for part of a letter. I presume it is a meaningless mark.

"Around the corner (a little above) is

HHH TPOKONNE~~S~~IOI,

while the next line is a little below the first line of the broad side."

Only one change in my calculations is necessary. I had assumed that the *Abbildung* was located two lines higher on the stone than it really is. This error was due to my equating Fimmen's 0.85 m. with 51 lines. It apparently equals 49 lines. Correction of this error requires us to assume a lacuna of about eight lines, not ten, between I.G. I, 247 and 256.

But I must warn the reader that the figures given in the paper, especially those relating to the lacuna, are only approximate, since many of them are based directly or indirectly upon Fimmen's calculations as to the height of the stone. If the upper portion of I.G. I², 212 is incorrectly reconstructed, as I think it is, exact figures are now impossible.

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NOTES ON "LOST" VASES: III¹

THE new edition of Salomon Reinach's *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, which has just appeared, is most welcome, and fills a long-felt need. This amazingly versatile scholar has brought the book up to date in many respects, and has located many of the vases which were "lost" at the time that the first edition appeared. On glancing through the two volumes, however, the reader will find that there are still a tantalizingly large number of vases left, to the present location of which there is no clue. Let us hope that a sufficient number of these will be found within the next twenty years to make a third edition imperative.

But in this new printing there are a surprisingly large number of errors and omissions. It is to say the least regrettable that for most of the vases in Athens M. Reinach is still content to refer to the obsolete catalogue of Collignon, which was replaced by that of Collignon and Couve in 1902, and which in its turn was supplemented by the catalogue of Nicole in 1912. These two catalogues are practically ignored by M. Reinach, who is also apparently ignorant of the second Bologna catalogue (*delle Necropoli Felsinee*, commonly referred to as *Necr. Fels.*) which dates back to 1912; for never once does he refer to this catalogue in his text, although a large number of the *Necr. Fels.* vases are of necessity included in the book. Another tantalizing feature is that the numbers of vases in the Louvre are never given,—it is hard to understand the reason for this omission. It is also a great disappointment to see the same old typographical errors and errors of description that marred the first edition, reappearing in the second.

But this is not a book review—it merely purports to be a list of vases found, which in this new edition are still described as lost, or to give more accurate information regarding certain vases, the location of which is indicated. For this reason I shall give the Collignon-Couve, and *Necr. Fels.* references, in every case.²

Mon. Dell' Inst.

VIII, pl. 4. Athens, Collignon-Couve	688.
VIII, pl. 5. "	1167.
IX, pl. 39. "	214.
IX, pl. 40, 2. "	275. ³
X, pl. 34, 1. "	1225.

¹ See *A.J.A.*, XXI, 1917, pp. 409–416; XXIV, 1920, pp. 271–272; XXVII, 1923, pp. 184–187.

² For abbreviations used, see *A.J.A.*, XXI, 1917, p. 409.

³ Reinach incorrectly gives this number for the vase on pp. 189–90, no. 2, in Vol. I: the correct number in Collignon-Couve for that vase is 350.

- X, pl. 34, 2. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1228.
 X, pls. 54, 55. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 269.
 XI, pls. 4, 5. The Faina Collection is at Orvieto, not Rome.
 XI, pls. 14, 15. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 268.
 XI, pl. 19. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 228.
 XI, pl. 42, 2. Acquired in 1925 by the Metropolitan Museum, New York, N. Y.

*Mon. Dell' Inst. Suppl.*pl. XXI. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 303.*Ann. Dell' Inst.*

- 1846, pl. M. National Museum, Copenhagen, 126.
 1868, pl. E. Caputi collection, Ruvo, not Jatta.
 1868, pls. H, I. The description of side B of pl. I belongs to pl. H. As pl. I
 is an oenochoe, it cannot have a side B.
 1877, pls. C, D. All these vases are in the Museum of Syracuse.
 1879, pl. N. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1287.
 1880, pl. N. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 318.
 1881, pls. F, G. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.* 325.
 1882, pl. O. Louvre G364.

A. Z.

- 1850, pl. 16. Bologna, *Pal. Univ.*, 434.
 1863, pl. 174. The number in the Bibliothèque Nationale is 874.
 1863, pl. 175. Athens, Collignon-Couve 620.
 1865, pl. 199. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1858.
 1876, pl. 17. The vase is an amphora, not a cup.

Bull. Nap.

- III, pl. I, 1, 2. At Harrow School; See Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 132.
 n. s. V, pl. X, 17. Lebes, not stamnus.

'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

- 1883, pl. 2. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1270.
 1883, pl. 7. " " 1259.
 1883, pl. 7a. " " 1894.
 1885, pl. 3, 3. " " 1160.
 1885, pl. 5, 1. " " 853.
 1885, pl. 7, 1, 2. " " 621.
 1885, pl. 7, 3. " " 624.
 1886, pl. 1. " " 1921.
 1886, pl. 4. " " 1188.
 1886, pl. 4 bis. " " 1689.
 1886, pl. 7, 1. " Graef, *Akropolis-Vasen*, III, 1632.
 1888, pl. 11. " Collignon-Couve 845.
 1890, pl. 2, 1. " " 1156.
 1890, p. 11. Acquired in 1925 by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
 1891, pl. 3. Athens, Nicole 274 and 333.
 1892, pl. 4. " Collignon-Couve 396bis and 396ter.
 1892, pl. 8. " " 466.
 1892, pl. 10. " " 462.
 1892, pl. 13. " " 1589.
 1893, pl. 2. " " 1477.

- 1893, pl. 3. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1396.
 1894, pl. 2. " " 1679.
 1894, pl. 6. Insert "Nicole" before the number 1227.
 1894, pls. 12, 13. Insert "Collignon-Couve" before the number 477.

Museo Italiano.

- II, pl. I, 1. Bologna, *Negr. Fels.*, 236.
 II, p. I, 2. " " " 206.
 II, pl. I, 3. " " " 241.
 II, pl. I, 4. " " " 130.
 II, pl. II, a. " " " 300.
 II, pl. VI, a. Athens, Collignon-Couve 1241.
 III, pp. 260-262. Add, "Cat. Pal. Univ., 270."

Coghill.

11. Acquired by the British Museum in 1924.
 35, 2. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 32, 2.
 41. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 62.

A. V.

- 84, 85. British Museum E8; see Beazley, *V. A.*, Appendix, Addenda, p. 193.
 98, 1, 2. British Museum B474, *not* New York.
 98, 5, 6. New York GR555.
 117-118. The vase 1, 2 was the one in Boulogne, not 3, 4, which is still lost.
 139. British Museum B318.
 144. For "Abbey" read "Ashby."
 146-7. Red-figured, not black-figured.
 148. Red-figured, not black-figured.
 192. Musée-Pincé, Angers.
 326. The number in Berlin is 1998, *not* 1898.

Tischbein.

- I, 36. In Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
 I, 39. The number in the *Hope Sale Cat.*, should be 66.
 I, 43. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 133, 1.
 II, 8. The number in the *Hope Sale Cat.*, should be 143, 1.
 II, 24. By a typographical error, the description for 1, 43 is inserted here. The subject of II, 24 is Oedipus and the Sphinx, and the vase is still lost.
 II, 49. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 90, 1.
 II, 55. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 78.
 III, 12. The number in the *Hope Sale Cat.* should be 97, 2.
 III, 57. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 95, 3.
 IV, 36. The number in the *Hope Sale Cat.* should be 138, 1. The number given applies to the next Tischbein plate.
 IV, 56. *Hope Sale Cat.*, 87, 2.

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BOOK REVIEWS

COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, Volume I, Augustus to Vitellius, with an Introduction and 64 plates, by *Harold Mattingly*, pp. CCXXXI 464. London, 1923. £ 3-3-0.

This is the latest volume of the British Museum "Catalogues of Coins and Medals." It is therefore almost unnecessary to say that the bookmaking leaves little to be desired, or that the plates are clean and clear. On the 64 plates the general rule obtains of printing 15 sestertii and 40 aurei or denarii to the plate.

Count de Salis arranged, in the British Museum Cabinets, the coins shown in this volume, but as Director A. F. Hill says, he "left no written exposition of his views beyond a general statement of principles of classification." Later work on the Roman coins, however, has resulted in showing that the provincial mints, especially the one at Lugdunum, were more important than had been suspected.

Mr. Harold Mattingly, who has done the work on this volume, is assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals. He writes first a brief introduction on the original development of Roman imperial coinage, followed by 14 pages of countermarks. Then he gives a clear exposition of denominations, weights, and metals, and it must be added that the sizes of the coins are given both in inches and tenths, and the weights both in grains troy and in grammes.

A valuable resumé of "Finds of Coins" is given on pages LXXV-LXXVIII, and eleven pages are devoted to a fairly adequate bibliography. The remaining 134 pages of the Introduction are given over to a numismatic history of the reigns of the emperors from Augustus through Vitellius. The special introduction to each reign is preceded by a chronological table of imperatorial titles as guaranteed by the inscriptions on the coins. Between Nero and Galba are three pages on L. Clodius Macer, and thirteen pages on the coinage of the Civil Wars.

Pages 1-400 contain the descriptions of the coins portrayed in the plates which are all together at the back of the volume. The descriptions have the regular simple arrangement in five columns: number, weight, metal—size—position of die, obverse, and reverse. Each coin described has a note of its own giving its provenience, for "in order to make the volume as complete a work of reference as possible, descriptions of many important coins not represented in the Museum collection have been inserted in the appropriate places."

The mint issues are described chronologically. It may therefore be something of a surprise to find Lugdunum preceding Rome in the cases of Tiberius and Caligula.

Between the text and the plates are seven valuable indices which fill 61 pages. They are: I, Emperors and their relatives; II, Mints; III, Moneyers; IV, Types; V, Attributes and Adjuncts; VI, Legends (including countermarks); VII, General Index (covering the rest, but with some cross-references).

Without numismatics the classicist is badly crippled, without numismatics the classical historian dare hardly walk at all. Coins have their crudities and their difficulties, but they have become more than tolerably faithful guides, because they furnish their own illumination. We count 23 B.C. as one of the possible dates at which the Roman Empire begins. It gains definiteness when we see that on the mintage of gold and silver for the Roman world Augustus decided to rest his *imperium* abroad, and on that of bronze for Rome and Italy, in coöperation with the Senate, his *tribunicia potestas* as representative of the Roman people. His gradual absorption of power can be seen nowhere more clearly than in the way he closed the other provincial mints and enlarged that at Lugdunum, and the way he let the senatorial mint in Rome sink into obscurity by developing his own provincial coinage.

The most interesting monetary act of Tiberius was his suppression of the "altar" coinage of the "Council of the Gauls" at Lugdunum. It was undoubtedly due to the nationalist movement of which the revolt in 21 A.D. of Sacrovir was the culmination. The two so-called "periods" of Nero's reign are more clearly defined by his coinage. On the imperial gold and silver, during the first years of his reign the constitutional coöperation of the Senate is recognized by the almost invariable EX S. C.

Quite apart from the knowledge of the metals (orichalcum and copper came in during the late Republic, and were much used in the early Empire), and their weights, there are a multitude of things which repay study. The Victory coinages, the epigraphical differences in various mints, the portraiture on the coins, the hundreds of types and legends, the changing use of the word "imperator," all these demand careful study, and not a detail lacks importance.

There is in the comment of Mr. Mattingly a refreshing element. He admits being unsure about a good many things. There is the less uncertainty about the coins themselves, to be sure, because the best and most clearly marked ones have been chosen for illustration and comment. But those, and not the unclear and illegible ones, are the proper ones to describe in such a volume as the one before us.

Thanks are due the British Museum for this additional volume to their fine series on coins in the museum.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN

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IUVENTUS, by Matteo della Corte, pp. 97, ARPINO, 1924. 25 lire.

Dr. Della Corte has made a significant addition to his important series of studies on Pompeii which have been appearing for the past fifteen years. His monograph *Iuentus* reveals the existence at Pompeii of an organized life of exercises and sport, games and processions among the younger members of the free born citizens of Pompeii—a life which prepared the younger generation for citizenship and for the defence of the state perhaps in much the same way that will be attempted by the premilitary training of the Italian youth, recently entrusted to Mussolini's national militia. The *lusus Troiae*, equestrian exercises in which the sons of senators took part at Rome, was an old Italic institution, supposed, as the Aeneid shows, to have derived its origin from Troy. The *lusus iuvenalis*, similar games which are attested for many municipalities, goes back, as the researches of Rostovtzeff and Rosenberg have shown, to early Italic models. Evidence for these games, which in the second century of the empire led to the formation of numerous *collegia iuvenum*, has so far, except for the scant information given us by one Oscan inscription, been strangely lacking at Pompeii.

After a general discussion of the iuvenes in the Roman world, Della Corte proceeds to consider in detail the evidence from Pompeii of which he finds a surprising amount. The term *iuvenis* is the frequent election posters which recommended a candidate as *iuvenem optimum, integrum*. Dr. Della Corte takes as a technical term, a reference to a member of the organized *iuvenes*. If there might be some doubt on that point there can be none about a series of inscriptions referring to games and processions in which free born men (and therefore not professional athletes) take part. One of them celebrates the performance of the *lusus serpentis* by a certain Septimius iuvenis. Another mentions a *centuria* and a *turma*, both terms familiar from the *lusus Troiae*, and both undoubtedly referring to a similar celebration at Pompeii. Still others give the names of free men who fought as gladiators, men whom Dr. Della Corte regards as members of the organized *iuvenes*. In the famous combat between the people of Nuceria and of Pompeii which led the Roman senate in 59 A. D. to close the amphitheatre

of Pompeii for ten years, Dr. Della Corte sees a contest that was caused by the *collegium iuvenum* which was, he thinks, one of the *collegia* that was dissolved as a result of the senate's action in the case.

There follows an interesting discussion of the buildings of Pompeii which can be associated with the *iuvenes*. The Forum Triangulare was, he thinks, the chief centre of their activities in earlier times, and the so-called Porticus of Vinicius, which the Oscan inscription states was constructed by decree of the municipal senate with money left to the *vereiiai pumpatiani* (i.e. *iuventus Pompeiana*), was the property of the *iuvenes*. The Caserma of the Gladiators near by had once been a Gymnasium devoted to their use.

In later times, Dr. Della Corte thinks, the Forum Triangulare continued to be used by the *iuventus*, but other buildings were also given over to them. Most important is the building known as the armory at the end of the Via dell'Abondanza in the new excavations. This structure, with the splendid trophies painted on the door posts and the huge cases for arms and equipment, he calls a *schola iuventutis*. Finally a building near the amphitheatre, incompletely excavated in the eighteenth century and now covered over again, is, Dr. Della Corte believes, the *Balneum Nongentum et Venerium* mentioned in a poster which gives a list of buildings rented. The *Nongenti*, familiar from Pliny as a designation for jurors, are evidently men of some position. The *Venerii* are, Dr. Della Corte thinks, the *iuvenes* of Pompeii who here as in many other towns were associated with the chief local cult. On one election poster found near by the *Venerii* make a nomination. In the building, which is known from eighteenth century plans, Dr. Della Corte finds baths, a shrine, a place for games, and a spacious gymnasium to take the place of the Hellenistic gymnasium which was no longer in use. Finally Dr. Della Corte discusses an interesting painting which depicts the marriage of Hercules and Hebe before the temple of Venus Pompeiana. He interprets it as the representation of a sacred mime by the *iuvenes*.

It is impossible to give here the evidence by which Dr. Della Corte has identified these various buildings. The same careful study of posters and the same ingenuity in putting scattered evidence together that have enabled him in a series of articles to identify the owners of many houses in Pompeii, have been effective here, though sometimes, as when he emends the last words of C. I. L. IV, 1162 to read *iuvenes Veneri rog(ant)*, he strains the evidence far. I feel inclined to question Dr. Della Corte's conception of the *iuvenes* as a *collegium*, presumably formed by a principle of selective membership. Though he rightly emphasizes the military character of the institution, he clings to the old idea that the *iuvenes* were a burial college, and thinks that the absence of evidence in the inscriptions of Pompeii for officers and details of organization is due to the fact that their place of burial has not yet been found. But since the appearance of Rostovtzeff's important investigation (*Römische Bleitesserae, Klao, Beiheft*, I, 1905) it has been clear that the *iuvenes* were to be compared not to the private burial colleges but to the *Augustales* and the *fabri*, organizations of a public character. Moreover, like these groups, the *iuvenes*, if we can judge from the inscriptions of other towns, seem not to have been called a *collegium* or to have had regular officers until the second century. The lack of evidence for a *collegium iuvenum* from Pompeii is then not at all strange; it merely confirms what we know of the *iuvenes* elsewhere. Their identification with the *collegia* who made trouble in the amphitheatre of Pompeii is therefore improbable. The *iuvenes* were made up of the free born citizens of the town who were preparing for the military service on horse and on foot which Augustus urged for all citizens. A relief from a Pompeian tomb (reproduced *Notizie degli Scavi* 1916, page 449, fig. 14), shows an armed horseman and a foot soldier in the entrance of a building which, Spinazzola noted, looks like the Armamentarium. These, I believe, represent the *iuvenes*, among whom the

citizens serving on horse—that is those possessing the equestrian census—and perhaps those having the necessary wealth to admit them to the *decuriones*, took a prominent part. The subject is one that I hope soon to discuss in another connection.

But these differences of conception have of course no effect on the value of this fresh contribution which Pompeii has made to the study of ancient institutions. Dr. Della Corte's work has enabled us to see in all its activity and life a form of training which in most towns we know only from bare unillustrated records. And since the conditions at Pompeii may fairly be considered typical of Italian towns, this new study has again brought home the fact, long ago insisted upon by Usener, that training in bodily vigor and manly exercise, which the Greek states regarded as essential for the citizen, was characteristic of the Italic peoples as well.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, by L. D. Caskey, pp. 233, 200 illustrations. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1925. \$7.75.

Both in form and content this work is deserving of great praise. The thorough descriptions of the various sculptures are all accompanied by excellent illustrations. The type is large and easily read. The author brings to his task a detailed knowledge of the technique of ancient sculpture which makes his book something more than a catalogue.

The discussion of the Boston counterpart of the "Ludovisi Throne" is practically an article in which the various interpretations are summarized and the style analyzed. The conclusion reached is that certain features of the reliefs are most satisfactorily explained as the result of Polygnotan influence. In view of this conclusion it might have been observed that the shelving ground covered with pebbles in the "Ludovisi Throne" is not "stony soil" (page 44) but rather the pebbly shore of the sea. For the Polygnotan painting at Delphi of the taking of Troy, represented a stretch of seashore upon which could be distinguished pebbles (Paus. X, 25, 11). The presence of these Polygnotan pebbles in the relief favors the interpretation that the "Aphrodite" is rising from the smooth surface of the sea.

On page 76, the attribution by Dickins of the head of the youthful goddess from Chios to the Alexandrian school is questioned as well as the use of stucco to complete the work. A marble veil was attached to the sloping planes of the head. In the discussion of this work, the author has marshalled too many quotations.

The decorative pedimental relief of the fourth century (page 105) is the subject of interesting comment. Its elaborate floral arabesques are the forerunner of those of the Ara Pacis. It may be added that the fluted stalk of this relief is probably an elaboration of a fluted stalk like that of the acroteria of the Parthenon, and that the Eros seated on a tendril is a variant of the Eros that stands on a tendril in vase-painting of the fifth century.

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ELEPHANTS AND ETHNOLOGISTS, by G. Elliot Smith, with woodcuts by A. Horace Gerrard and K. Leigh-Pemberton, pp. 129, 52 woodcuts. E. P. Dutton, New York, 1924. \$6.00.

■ This book is designed especially for the archaeologist and for those readers who have some knowledge of the art and culture of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Asia, as it takes for granted a considerable fund of information.

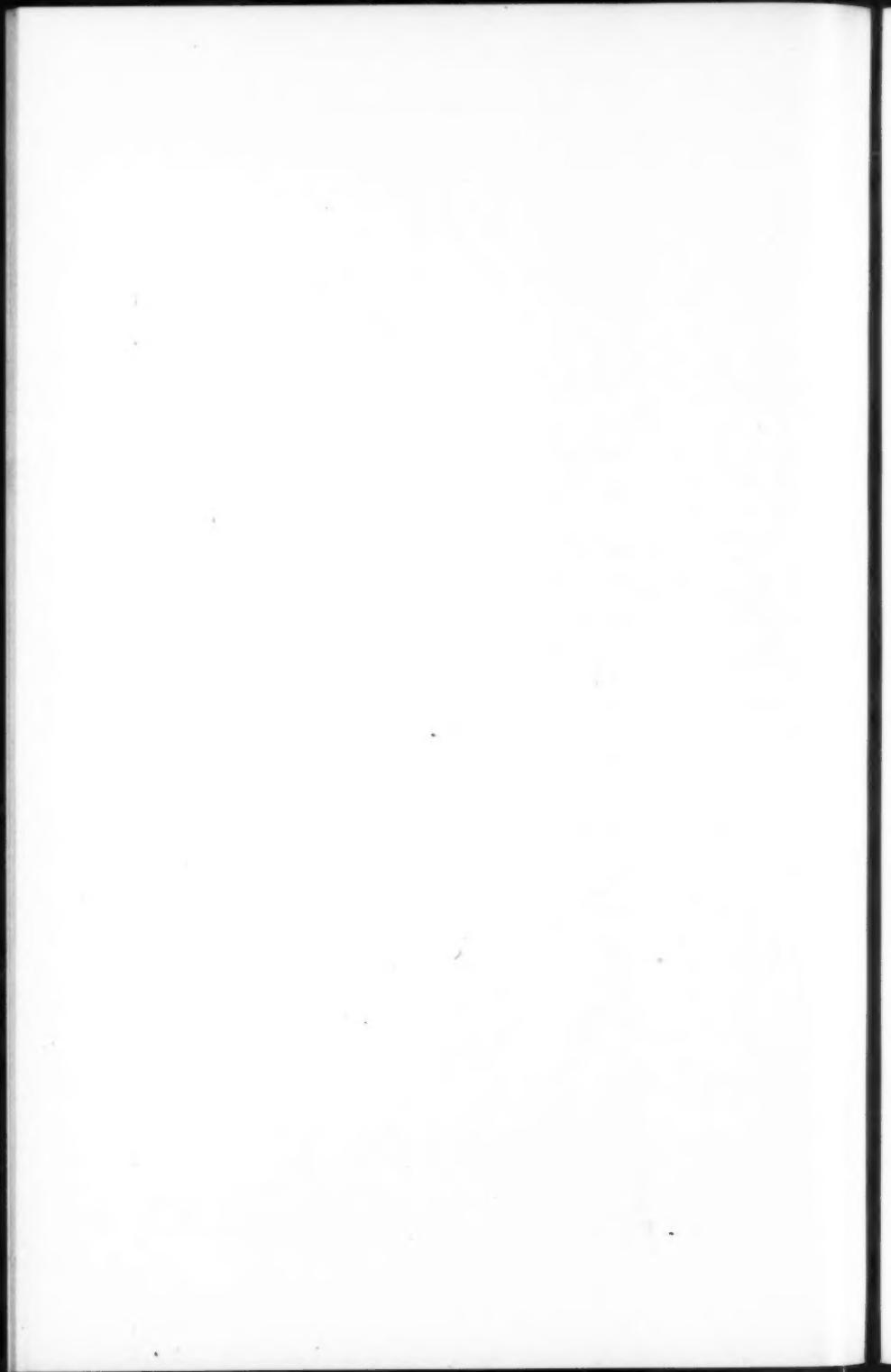
Mr. Smith will doubtless meet with opposition from conservative archaeologists because of his breadth of vision in tracing the spread of culture. His contention is that the culture of the New World, particularly in Honduras, while developing in a distinctive manner all its own, was nevertheless dependent on the civilization of Asia, and not of indigenous origin. His ideas are at times very startling, especially when he derives the stone pyramids of Copan, built in the early centuries of the Christian era, from the brick pyramids of Babylonia which, by the way, are not really pyramids. He also derives the "glory face" of Maya architecture from the Egyptian winged disc.

The author believes that these architectural and decorative designs travelled eastward in modified form to Indo-China, which is the source of Maya culture. On page 3 is an interesting chart suggesting the routes followed by the immigrants of the first twelve centuries after Christ on their way from Cambodia to Central America. Mr. Smith's theory is supported chiefly by the representation of an Indian elephant on stela B at Copan, which is drawn from every angle in the excellent woodcuts which illustrate the volume. The sculptor could not have seen an elephant in America, but was reproducing some earlier model brought from Asia. Additional evidence is the fact that a turbaned *mahout* is represented riding the elephant. Then, too, the curious convention of a scroll design below the elephant's eye appears in some representations of the Indian Makara and also on the elephant at Delhi Fort.

The question of the method of transferring the type is touched upon at various points in the book. Probably the medium of distribution was amulets and decorated vessels representing elephants and other mythical creatures common to eastern Asia and to America. While perhaps not entirely convincing the theories set forth in this volume are very suggestive and merit further investigation.

KATE MCK. ELDERKIN

Princeton



1924
July-December

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS¹ SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, *Editor*
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Tomb of Alaric.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 195-207, A. VAN GENNEP discusses the tale, given by Jordanes, that after the death of Alaric the Goths diverted the river of Barentin (Busento), made some slaves of war—whom they afterwards killed—dug a grave in the bed of the river, and buried the body of the king together with great riches. The reason given for killing the slaves is the fear that they might tell where the treasure was buried. That is a rationalistic explanation and is to be rejected; but the tale is in other respects to be believed, for examples of similar burials are found among primitive peoples, and the Goths, though Christians, were not far removed from their earlier beliefs and practices. The examples cited are from Africa and Australia.

Archaeology and the Photographer.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 85-110, W. DEONNA writes of the service which photography is able to render to archaeology. The article is divided into sections as follows: Documentary Photography, Photography and the Appreciation of Styles, Composite Photographs, Color Photography, Photographs of Motion, the Cinematograph, the Photography of the Invisible, the Radiograph, Natural Photography (change of color produced by exposure to light), Photography and the Teaching of Archaeology, Photography and Esthetics. The titles of the sections indicate the scope of the article.

The Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 280-294, E. POTTIER replies to the favorable and unfavorable criticisms of the first issues of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, explains the general policy of the editors, and announces some modifications in details.

The Cyclopes.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 119-127 (6 figs.), L. SIRET explains the round eye of the Cyclopes as the circle of the crater of a volcano. Volcanic bombs, such as the Neapolitans call "tears of Vesuvius," have the shape given in art to the thunderbolt, and the Cyclopes forged the weapons of Zeus. Much the same shape is usual for the ingots formed in primitive forges, and stones or bullets for use in slings have the same form. But the eye of the Cyclops was also the hole in a hammer in which the handle is inserted, filling (and thus blinding) the eye, as the staff inserted by Odysseus blinded the eye of Polyphemus.

Persian Standard of Coinage in Ionia.—The reversion from the Rhodian to the Persian standard in the case of certain Ionian cities in the period 320-280 B.C., earlier mentioned (*Num. Chron.*, 1922, p. 169) by G. F. HILL, is subjected to more

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by PROFESSOR HEFFNER, Editor-in-charge, assisted by PROFESSOR SAMUEL E. BASSETT, PROFESSOR C. N. BROWN, MRS MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, PROFESSOR SIDNEY N. DEANE, PROFESSOR HAROLD N. FOWLER, DR. STEPHEN B. LUCE, PROFESSOR ELMER T. MERRILL, PROFESSOR JOHN C. ROLFE, PROFESSOR JOHN SHAPLEY, PROFESSOR A. L. WHEELER, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1924.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 115-116.

detailed examination by J. G. MILNE, and explained by reference to the history of the period (*Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 19-30).

The Religious Policy of Antony and Cleopatra.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1925, pp. 241-261, H. JEANMAIRE discusses the religious policy of Antony and Cleopatra, showing that there was a real significance in the adoption by Antony of the name and attributes of Dionysus. His conduct is known to us only by reports of those who favored Augustus, and the serious meaning of it has been hidden. The triumph of Augustus over Antony was also the triumph of Apollo over Dionysus.

Large and Small Bronzes.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1925, pp. 227-237, SALOMON REINACH makes, and supports by examples and arguments, the two following statements:

1. In the Greco-Roman period plaster moulds were made only of bronzes, and these were thus faithfully copied in marble.

2. In the Greco-Roman period, be it on the Rhine or on the Danube, there are virtually no examples of bronzes, large or small, which are faithful reproductions of marble or chryselephantine originals. Statues of Aphrodite crouching and Aphrodite standing or removing her sandal are shown to be only apparent exceptions. If the two statements are correct, any bronze copy of an ancient statue the original of which was of marble must, *a priori*, be considered modern. On the other hand, when a bronze statuette reproduces the type of a statue which is known to have been of bronze, there is a strong presumption in favor of its authenticity.

DELOS.—**Chronology of the Archons.**—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 450-454, MAURICE LACROIX discusses the chronologies proposed by GLÖTZ (*B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 362-366) and DÜRRBACH (*ibid.*, XL, 1916, pp. 346-352) taking issue with the results obtained by these scholars, and considering that the chronology of the Delian archons previous to 310 B.C. is full of uncertainties. At the end of the article a list of archons, with tentative dates, is appended.

Fanum and Simulacrum; Nemed and Minihi.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, J. LOTH, in connection with a passage in the life of Saint Samson, discusses the words *fanum* and *simulacrum* used there. He interprets the latter as *menhir* and *fanum* as Celtic *nemeton* (Irish *Nemed*, Breton *Minihi*), a sacred precinct of circular form in the woods. These became associated with Druidism, but the *nemeton* is earlier than Druidism, which was a synthesis of rites and traditions of various periods and races.

The Frequency Table as a method of studying the weights of ancient coinages is described and discussed by G. F. HILL in *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 76-85, with a note on the exactitude of ancient weighing.

The Word Iubilator.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 24-28 (fig.) R. CAGNAT discusses representations of Roman chariot races in which, besides the chariots, with their horses and drivers, riders on galloping horses are represented. The designation and function of these riders are unknown. The word *iubilatore* under one of the chariot horses in the relief published by Panvinius (*Galler. di Firenze*, ser. IV, pl. XCVII) is the name of the horse and has nothing to do with the riders. Other examples are given of the custom of giving the names of the horses in the ablative case, and those of the drivers in the nominative.

EGYPT

The Age of Copper in Egypt.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 1-20, EDOUARD NAVILLE shows that the word read *ousem* signifies copper. This was used in great quantities by the Egyptians and was brought from Punt, i.e., from southern Arabia. It was introduced into Egypt by a conquering Hamitic race

from Arabia, and to these conquerors, who came, not from the North, but from the South, and were not Semitic, is due the invention of the hieroglyphics and of many other elements of Egyptian civilization. The early inhabitants of Babylonia also may have obtained their copper from southern Arabia, and may possibly themselves have been of Hamitic stock. Apparently civilization is earlier in Babylonia than in Egypt, though this is not certain.

ASIA MINOR AND AEGEAN

BROUSSA.—**A Greek Inscription.**—In *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 1-57, and pl. I, MAURICE HOLLEAUX publishes and comments upon an inscription found at Broussa in 1921, in the foundations of one of the towers of the Byzantine city wall, and made known through the interest of M. Papadopoulos, the director of the Greco-French academy at Pera. It was the subject of a brief comment by TH. HOMOLLE, in *C.R.A.I.*, 1921, pp. 269-273. Since then, a squeeze and better photographs of the inscription have become available, through the industry of M. Papadopoulos. It is cut on a slab of white limestone, and is thirty lines in length. The letters are most uneven in size: the forms and the manner in which they are cut place this stone in the Hellenistic period, not earlier than the last quarter of the third century B.C., and probably later. The text is a decree of the citizens of a city not mentioned, in honor of a certain Korragos, a Macedonian, the strategos of the regions around the Hellespont, for his intercession with the king on their behalf, and for benefits conferred upon them, after they had been left destitute through the effects of a war. The name Korragos is unusual, occurring in not more than fifteen other instances. The mention of the Hellespont recalls the satrapy of that name in the Seleucid kingdom; but for various reasons, as is shown, this man was probably an official of the kingdom of Pergamum, and held office either under Attalus I, or else under Eumenes II or Attalus II. After an exhaustive comment on the text an attempt is made to identify the city, and Apollonia on the Rhyndacus is suggested, as the inscription, if it is Pergamene, antedates the foundation of Prusa, the ancient city on the site of Broussa. The writer expresses the conviction that the Korragos in the inscription is the man of the same name, of whom mention is made in Livy, XLII, 67, 3, who is described as a "praefectus Eumenis" in the year 171 B.C.; *praefectus* being the usual Latin translation of *στρατηγός*. The war mentioned is considered by the writer to be either the second between Pergamum and the Gauls, or else that with Prusias II of Bithynia. In conclusion the importance of this stone as a contribution to our knowledge of the economic and financial life of the Hellenistic period is emphasized.

The Delion of Paros.—This sanctuary, which goes back to prehistoric times, lies on a hill across the harbor northeast from the ancient city. In the first building period it was a nearly square, well-walled enclosure containing rock altars to Apollo and Artemis, but no temple. In the first half of the sixth century B.C. a small Doric temple was built over the altar of Artemis, with a new altar, and at the same time a large dining hall, *ēstiatorion*, for the festival banquets of the priests. The chief seats of worship remained at the rock altar of Apollo, around which the sacred dances were performed. A terrace giving a view of Delos was the outlook where the fire-signal from Cythnus for the beginning of the festival was received. Most of the marble remains have disappeared in modern lime-kilns, but a few heads have been found which bear a marked resemblance to those of the pediments at Olympia. The vases, beside a few prehistoric and Minyan sherds, run from mid-Geometric to early Corinthian styles, and in conjunction with the earlier wares found on the acropolis of the island, form a complete historical series. A great number of votive plates, both of pottery and

later of marble, were apparently offered by those who partook of the public banquet. They include varieties similar to those found in the Heraeum of Delos and in Rheneia, and polychrome plates like the well-known example from Thera. The small finds are bone and ivory fibula plates, and scarabs and other objects of Egyptian character, such as were made in Naucratis in the first half of the sixth century. There are also many terra cotta figurines like those found in Samos, Rhodes, and the sanctuary of Eileithyia in Paros, of the stock patterns made in Ionia as votives for female divinities. They bear witness to the existence of the cult of Artemis down to the fourth century. O. RUBENSOHN, *Arch. Anz.*, 1923/24, pt. 1/2, cols. 118-122.

GREECE

ARCHITECTURE

ATHENS.—The Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Erechtheum on the Acropolis.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1925, pp. 223-226, G. A. S. SNIJDER gives a summary of an article published in Dutch (*Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut*, Rome, III, 1923, pp. 73-112). The differences between the architectural members of the temple of Augustus and Rome and the Erechtheum are due to intention, not merely to imperfect imitation. In the temple of Augustus and Rome the effect of weight is aimed at, whereas the Erechtheum produces the effect of lightness.

The Architect Callicrates and the Eastern Wall of the Acropolis.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 174-178, PAUL GRAINDORF discusses the inscription *I.G., I, Suppl.*, p. 140, 26a (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptio Graecarum*, latest edition, No. 62). He proposes to read line 1: . . . [τ]ὴ πόλιν [καθ' ἐξοδομέτραι and to translate "close the Acropolis by a wall at the east." He explains that Callicrates was to close the breaches made in the wall for bringing in the materials for the Parthenon, now that the building was virtually finished.

The Origin of the Corinthian Capital.—In *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1924, pp. 75-81 (31 figs.), H. L. EBELING studies the development of the Corinthian capital, the only member of the Corinthian column which differentiates it from the Ionic column. A résumé of the past contributions to the study is first given, and then there is an attempt to trace the steps by which Ictinus developed the design in the Phigalian capital. In all previous attempts to explain the Corinthian capital little or no attention has been given to the Phigalian example, which is generally accepted as the original invention. This has an unorganic, experimental appearance, and would seem to have been a development out of the volute capitals, with which it had to appear in the Phigalian temple. In the drawings of the Phigalian capital the character of the leaves is not clear, but even if the acanthus was represented, another creative genius, possibly Callimachus, is responsible for the full revelation of the beauties of the acanthus plant, which led finally to the intricate profusion of the Lysicrates monument and the practical simplicity of the Epidaurus capital.

DELPHI.—The Tholos of the Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia in the Marmaria.—A note on this building, by J. CHARBONNEAUX, prior to his detailed publishing of it in the *Fouilles de Delphes*, appears in *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 209-216 (1 fig.). The argument of KARO that it was erected on the foundation of an earlier edifice, is proved not necessarily to be the case. The examination of the remains of the building reveals the extraordinary mathematical precision with which its walls were constructed, and its columns, both exterior and interior, placed. The exterior columns were twenty in number; they were Doric, and each had twenty flutes. The coffers of the ceiling were lozenge-shaped, to harmonize with the round plan, and were arranged in concentric circles, the angles of the apices of the coffers increasing in acuteness as they approach the centre. The interior order

was Corinthian, the columns being engaged in the cella wall. The epistyle which they supported was apparently of wood, and not of marble, as Pomrow supposes, whose statements (*Klio*, 1912, p. 190 ff.) regarding this building are mentioned only to be rejected.

The Date of the Heraeum at Olympia.—This subject is discussed by W. DOERPFLD in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 25–47 (*Alte und Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*) in a report of recent excavations in many parts of Greece, which he visited in 1922. Doerpfeld made some slight excavations in and near the Heraeum, and found confirmation of his view (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 185) that the temple was first built in the eleventh century, 400 years before the date assigned by Furtwängler, and by most archaeologists after him. There were two reconstructions of the temple, each at a slightly higher level than that of the preceding building. The earliest structure (Temple I), which had no peripteros, was destroyed by fire. On its site another (Temple II) was built, with much the same ground plan as Temple I, except that the opisthodomos did not extend so far to the west, and with columns along the sides. Temple II was apparently torn down and rebuilt into Temple III, at a still higher level, because of the desire to keep its lower courses from being covered with the earth which rains brought down from the Cronion. The columns of Temple II, and of Temple III, at first, were of oak. As the latter decayed they were replaced by stone columns. Since the earliest stone columns belong to the seventh century, and since columns of oak would last several hundred years, Doerpfeld concludes that Temple I is as early as the eleventh century.

The small finds in the strata of the three temples corroborate this view. Of the three temples and terra cottas recognized at Olympia by Furtwängler (primitive, geometric, orientalizing) the first two are represented by great quantities of finds below the level of Temple I, but rarely in the two higher strata, i.e., of Temples II and III. On the other hand, of the vase fragments, the orientalizing or Proto-Corinthian sherds are found not only in the strata of all three temples, but a few samples came to light from under the level of the earliest temple. The absence of geometric pottery Doerpfeld explains by regarding the Proto-Corinthian as "a direct daughter of Mycenaean art." The latter was Sidonian-Phoenician, belonging to the second millennium B.C., whereas the recognized later Phoenician art is of the first millennium. The geometric art, as represented by the finds at Olympia, Athens, and elsewhere, is the native art of the second millennium, and exists contemporaneously with Mycenaean and Proto-Corinthian. The Doric Temple was a development of the native megaron, but owed its architectural decoration partly to Mycenaean, that is, to Phoenician, art.

Doerpfeld thinks that the stone lion's foot (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 210), found under the level of Temple II, in the débris of the burned Temple I, very probably belonged to the cult statue of Hera seated on a throne, possibly the statue whose very archaic head is preserved. Hence both temple and seated image existed before some Homeric critics admit, and the reference to temples and seated statues of the gods cannot be used as evidence of a late stratum of the Homeric poems.

Further excavations between the Heraeum and the Metroön confirm Doerpfeld in his belief that on the site of the great Roman waterworks of Herodes Atticus was originally a natural spring with a Greek spring house. Here Doerpfeld places the oldest cult at Olympia, and dates this at the period of the apsidal houses, roughly about the time of Troy I, and going back as far as the third millennium B.C.

SCULPTURE

The Agias of Lysippus.—In the *Revue Belge de Philologie*, January–March, 1924, PHILIPPART follows Wolters (1913) in believing that the monument dedicated

at Delphi by Daochos is earlier, not later, than that at Pharsalus, and that the Agias at Delphi has nothing to do with Lysippus. To this S. R. (*R. Arch.*, XX, 1924, p. 239), in his brief mention of Philippart's article, does not object, but he does object to depriving Lysippus of the *Apoxyomenos* in Rome and suggests that the lack of replicas may be due to some edict forbidding the taking of casts from the original and that this marble copy may have been made at the order of Tiberius when he placed the original in his palace.

DELPHI.—The Offerings of the Deinomenids.—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 420–430, E. CAVAILLON discuses the restoration proposed by Pomtow in Dittenberger's *Sylloge* for the weight, which is there given as fifty talents of gold, of the tripod and golden statue of Nike dedicated by Hieron at Delphi. This reading is denied both by comparison with the weight of the tripod of Gelon, known to be of sixteen talents, and on the grounds of probability. By a study of the actual bases of these tripods, and of the cuttings for the attachment of the tripods, the approximate height can be obtained, and from this height the total weight of the offerings of Hieron can be arrived at. We have reason to believe, however, that the offering of Hieron was of somewhat greater weight than that of his brother Gelon, and the reading "twenty-one" is offered as a solution, and defended on epigraphical grounds. The number "fifty" is shown to apply to the total weight of all the offerings of Gelon and his brothers. This leads the author to strive to account for the immense spoils of war represented by these dedications, principally derived from the sale and ransom of prisoners captured from the Carthaginians in the battle of Himera (481–480 B.C.) and the indemnity collected from Carthage at that time, and material of war captured then. The superior weight of the offering of Hieron is explained by suggesting that his tripod represented not only that battle, but the battle against the Etruscans at Cumae (474 B.C.) and a levy on the internal resources of the Syracusan state, some discussion of which is given. The trustworthiness of the ancient literary sources is favorably commented on in conclusion.

DELPHI.—Sculptures of the Treasury of the Athenians.—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 387–419 (pls. XIV–XVIII, 9 figs.), P. DE LA COSTE MESSELIÈRE presents the results of a detailed examination of these sculptures, made in 1922. In the course of this investigation it was possible to put in their proper places one hundred and twenty-one fragments known to belong to this Treasury, but hitherto unidentified. Of these, ten fragments are shown to belong to pedimental sculptures. This has been confirmed by the architectural researches of REPLAT, who has found on the horizontal geison blocks cuttings for the bases of statues. A comparison with the figures on the temple at Aegina is suggested. Each of these fragments is discussed, and its proper place in a pedimental group suggested, and a restoration of the whole is given, which is conjectured to portray Heracles and Iolaus in the presence of Zeus, Athena, and other divinities. Eighty-eight additional fragments have been identified as belonging to metopes; they are distributed among nineteen of the twenty-four known examples, and six others, making the complete number belonging to the building. Among the additions to the metopes already known, the most significant is the head of Theseus to the southern metope showing Theseus and the Minotaur. The six new metopes have been identified as Theseus and Sinis (on the south; the torso of Sinis is identified); Heracles and a Giant (?); Heracles and an Amazon; Heracles, Iolaus, and probably the Hydra; Heracles and Diomed (?) (all these on the north); and the chariot of Heracles (on the west). After a careful examination of the Treasury and the metopes, the author declares himself able to assign each one to its exact position on the building, and each metope is given its place by a number. On the north, nine, representing the exploits of Heracles; on the south nine, showing the exploits of Theseus; on the east six, showing combats of Greeks and Amazons; and on the west six, showing the

capture of the cattle of Geryon. Finally, an attempt is made to put in their places the two mounted Amazons, formerly considered as acroteria. Fragments recently discovered prove the existence of a third of these, showing that they cannot be so regarded; and an examination of the Treasury shows that it never had acroteria. The conclusion is reached that they belonged to some construction not to be identified surely, built in association with the Treasury, and at the same period. In conclusion the writer suggests certain problems offered by the technique of the sculptures, and states that a date after 490 B.C. must be assigned to them.

PIRAEUS.—**An Eschatological Representation on an Attic Stele of the Fourth Century.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 37–46 (pl.) G. A. S. SNIJDER publishes an Attic stele in the Museum of the Piraeus (*Attische Grabreliefs*, 1354; Reinach, *Rép. d. Rel.*, 409, 4) on which a large *loutrophoros* is represented, between the handles and the neck of which are two nude dancing youths. These are explained as satyrs, and similar figures on other gravestones are explained in the same way. The connection of Dionysus and his train with the life hereafter is discussed, and a votive relief in the museum at Chalcis (No. 337) is published, on which the figures of Hades, holding a cornucopia, and Dionysus, holding a cantharus, are accompanied by the inscription *τοῖν θεοῖν*. The mysteries of Dionysus offered the worshippers a happy life hereafter, hence the presence of satyrs and of Dionysiac symbols on monuments to the dead. This particular stele, of the fourth century B.C., is of unusually fine workmanship. A striking resemblance is noted between the satyrs on this stele and those on a Gallo-Roman stele at Arlon (Esperandieu, 4040; Strong, *Apotheosis*, p. 200; Reinach, *Rép. d. Rel.*, II, 161). Soon after the date of this stele the decree of Demetrius of Phaleron (317–316 B.C.) put an end to Attic funerary sculpture.

VASES AND PAINTING

Caeneus and the Centaurs.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 111–118 (fig.), HENRI BOUCHER publishes and discusses the chief scene depicted on a red-figure celebe in the Saint Ferriol collection. Caeneus, wearing a helmet and, apparently, a cuirass and carrying a shield, is sinking into the ground. With his right hand he stabs a centaur between the fore legs. Behind this centaur is another holding a stone in his hand, as if to throw it. Behind Caeneus bearded man, probably Peirithous, raises his sword against the centaurs. Behind him (*i.e.*, at the right of the picture) is a third centaur carrying a great rock. Other similar representations are mentioned, the finest of which is on the vase at Harrow (*J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, pl. vi, p. 294). In all these, except that on the Polygnotus vase at Brussels, the head of Caeneus is in profile to left, and in scenes with three centaurs there are always two at the left and one at the right. On the other side of this vase is a presentation scene, a maiden standing between two youths.

DELOS.—**An Altar Painting.**—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 455–487 (2 figs.) MARCEL BULARD republishes a painting found in 1912 on an altar associated with a house in the Stadium quarter of Delos, the paintings from which were published in *B.C.H.*, XL, 1916, p. 207 ff. This fresco represents a goat-footed god standing between two palms, and playing a great syrinx, which conceals the lower part of his face and most of his body. Originally identified as Pan, the suggestion is made that this deity is really the Roman god Silvanus, as the paintings associated with it are of Roman date and the subjects are Roman in character. The cult of Silvanus in Roman domestic religion is discussed at length, and it is shown that he is given the attributes of Pan quite early in Roman religion. He is very apt to be associated with the Lares in the home worship of Roman families, and assumes the function of guardian of the limits of the house. In conclusion the writer brings

into connection with this painting a relief found at Ostia, and a wall-painting from a lararium at Pompeii, where Silvanus is seen in much the same manner of representation as on the Delian fresco, and where his identification is most probable.

Finds East of the Heraeum at Olympia.—In *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 48–52 (*Einzelfunde in Olympia*, 1922), E. BUSCHOR and B. SCHWEITZER briefly describe the objects found in trial trenches east of the Heraeum. I. About .90 m. to 1.50 m. below the present surface is a prehistoric stratum belonging to the period of the apsidal houses, and containing stone utensils, but no trace of metal. The vase fragments were mostly of coarse ware and crude shape. No Mycenaean ware was found and only a single *Mattmalerei* fragment. A small proportion of the sherds were incised, the incisions being filled with white; some were of fine greyish-blue ware resembling Minyan, and there were a few fragments of black polished ware. No clear stratum indicated an occupation of the site between the prehistoric and the historical periods. As the trenches approached the Treasuries, in the early Greek filling on which the latter were built the prehistoric and the historical remains were mingled together; an occasional prehistoric object was found in the levelings made when the Heraeum was built.

II. Immediately above the prehistoric level, in the strata belonging to the three successive Hera temples, the pottery is most nearly related to the Proto-Corinthian. It is apparently of local origin. Some iron was found; also votive offerings of clay and bronze, and, near the Treasuries, a bronze disk, 25 cm. in diameter, with a notched edge. Along with the finer pottery were fragments of unglazed ware like that of the chamber tomb at Mycenae excavated by Wace in 1922. Fragments of roof tile all show the technique of the best period of Proto-Corinthian. Practically no geometric ware was found.

Laconian Ware.—With the publication of two vases in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd—a lacaena (L II) recently acquired from private possession and a cylix (L IV) already imperfectly known—O. WALDHAUER discusses the development of this ware as a gradual modification of the Geometric emphasis on the structural character of form, through Oriental influences (whether directly from Egypt or brought through Samos) in the direction of a more living harmony of form and decoration and a naturalistic rendering of objects. He dates the lacaena toward the end of the seventh century. The proportion of the low, bulging body and the high, column-like member that rises from it is found in Camarae and other pre-hellenic wares. The shape differs from the related cantharus in having horizontal instead of vertical handles and from its own derivative, the calix crater, chiefly in the absence of the high foot, which was originally a separate pedestal. The cylix, with deep bowl, high foot, and handles curving slightly upward toward the end, and with zones of clay ground alternating with white slip on the outside, belongs in the second half of the sixth century. The inner picture is a horseman in profile flanked by a flying demon and bird, with a bird and snake below and a snake in the ground segment. *Jb. Arch.*, I, XXXVIII/IX, 1923/24, pts. 1/2, pp. 28–37; pl., 3 figs.

MT. OLYMPUS.—In *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, 129 f., (*Eine antike Opferstätte auf dem Olymp*), H. SCHEFFEL briefly describes the remains of a stone altar and some vase fragments of the later classical period found on a lower peak of Mt. Olympus, about an hour's walk to the south of the summit and 100 m. below it, perhaps belonging to the altar of 'Zeus on the Summit' mentioned by Solinus, *Polyhistor*, IX.

Portrait of a Girl.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 150–152 (fig.), PAUL GRAINDOR publishes a white marble bust from Melos in the National Museum at Athens. It represents a young girl, with thick hair, parted in the middle and arranged in the fashion of the time of Antonia, wife of Nero Drusus. Black color is preserved on the hair, as well as on the right eyebrow, eyelashes and

iris. These details, with the letters of the inscription on the base, fix the date about the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription reads: Υπερινη Στασιουν Θυγατρος Στασιουν.

INSCRIPTIONS

DELPHI.—An Inscription Pertaining to the Law against Piracy.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 208–214, EDOUARD COQ shows that the law against piracy, parts of which are given in an inscription from Delphi, cannot be earlier than 67 b.c. It cannot be of 74 b.c. and refer to Marcus Antonius, as JEAN COLIN (*ibid.*, XVIII, 1923, pp. 289–294) maintains, since it mentions a *σύνταξις*, or regulation, relating to the introduction of envoys to audience before the senate, which CICERO ascribes to Gabinius, and Gabinius was tribune in 68–67 b.c.

The Delphic Paean to Dionysus.—In *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 97–208, W. VOLLMRAFF presents the first part of a study of the inscription containing this celebrated ode. He dedicates his work to the memory of JEAN DE MOT, killed in action in the World War. The paean was written by the otherwise unknown poet Philodamus of Scarpe. It was first published by Homolle and Bourguet in *B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pls. XVI, XVII, with a commentary on the text by HENRI WEIL, who enlarged his work in his *Études de Littérature et de Rythmique Grecques* (Paris, 1902). It has also been published by ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, in *Cornell Studies in Class. Phil.*, XII, 1900, pp. 139–153, who follows the text of WEIL. It is shown that that text was not final, but was based on a preliminary study, and it is hoped that this article, based on a more recent examination of the inscription from squeezes, will be of use in the definitive publication of this paean in the *Fouilles de Delphes*. The readings for lacunae can often be determined by the fact that the inscription was written *stoichedon*, and consequently the number of letters to a line are known; the metrical scheme of the paean is also of aid in the restoration of missing words. The letter-forms show a date in the second half of the fourth century b.c., and the year 335 is suggested as the probable time of composition. Each strophe is taken up separately, the text of WEIL being first given, followed by critical notes and emendations, which last, wherever made, are supported, when possible, by quotations from ancient writers, justifying the use of a word or expression, the same method being used to explain the meaning of difficult passages, of the reading of which there is no doubt. The fourth strophe is almost entirely lost. The greater part of this installment of the article is devoted to the third strophe, where the connection of Dionysus with the Eleusinian mysteries, as indicated in the text, is stressed in the commentary, in which it is shown that the Dionysus of this paean is not the god of wine, but rather the divinity of mysteries and Orphic beliefs, the "Iacchus" of Aristophanes's *Frogs* and elsewhere. A discussion follows of the initiation into these mysteries, in the course of which it is deemed desirable to republish WILAMOWITZ'S text of the 26th Idyll of THEOCRITUS with a complete commentary, in which the argument is advanced, on various grounds, archaeological and philological, that certain terms, found in this Idyll as well as in the Delphic paean, have reference to the degrees to which those who were initiated into the mysteries of the worship of Dionysus could attain, and which suggest that the poem of THEOCRITUS was composed on the occasion of the initiation of a youth. The authenticity of this poem as a work of THEOCRITUS, often attacked, and rejected by WILAMOWITZ, is defended and upheld, and the conjecture is made that it was written at COS, where a cult of Dionysus is known to have existed, with mysteries comparable to those at Eleusis. In commenting upon the fifth strophe of the paean, the identification of the names Παιάν and Εὐκλῆς with Dionysus in the Orphic cults is established. The article, which ends with the fifth strophe, will be continued in a future number.

DELPHI.—Greek Translation of a Roman Law of the End of 101 B.C.—This

inscription, discovered at Delphi during the campaigns of 1893 and 1896 of the French School at Athens, and published several times since, is the subject of a paper by GASTON COLIN, in *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 58-96, and 304 (additional note). The occasions for this article are those of Ptolemy in *Klio*, XVII, pp. 172-173, where a transcription is given, the correctness of which is questioned, various mistakes being pointed out; and of Coq, in *C.R.A.I.*, 1923, pp. 129-150, with some of whose conclusions the writer disagrees, especially as regards his date of 67 B.C., for which the evidence is not sufficiently strong. The text refers to kings in Egypt, Cyprus, Syria, and Cyrene as friends and allies of the Roman people; in 67 the situation in these countries would not have warranted such a reference; as in Egypt, Ptolemy XIII was fighting for recognition of his right to the throne; the situation in Cyprus was very similar; Syria was in a condition of anarchy; and Cyrene was technically Roman, having been bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy Apion in 96 B.C. The mention of Cyrene as an independent state indicates that the inscription must be earlier than that date, and it cannot be later than 101 B.C., and the date of c. 100 has been suggested by various commentators. It is suggested, however, that the more nearly correct period is the end of 101, when Marius was at the height of his power. The writer believes that in this inscription we should not merely see a law directed against piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also against the growing power of Mithridates, king of Pontus. The text is republished, as restored by the writer, with a critical apparatus (pp. 79-83), followed by a translation and commentary. The article ends with a brief summary of the importance of this inscription as an historical document.

COINS

British Museum Acquisitions of Greek Coins in 1923.—These, as in former years, are described by G. F. HILL. Prominent among them is a tetradrachm of Morgantina (of the Syracuse Arethusa-type) of which only one, and a less well preserved, specimen has heretofore been known. There is also a series of coins from Cyprus which settle the attribution of a number of Imperial coins hitherto regarded as uncertain (*Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 1-18; 2 pl.).

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Cult of Aphrodite Epitragia and Its Connection with the Tragic Choruses.—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 431-449, R. GANSZYNEC discusses the curious cult of Aphrodite associated with a he-goat; sometimes she carries him in her arms, sometimes she stands beside him, sometimes she stands on his back, but more often she is represented as seated on his back, from which position the epithet is derived. A list of the known representations is given, showing that this form is by all means the most common. Of the origin of this cult there is considerable difference of opinion, but that it comes from the Orient seems probable. The interpretation of this cult and its meaning have been frequent subjects for discussion; even in the time of Pausanias its real significance had been lost sight of. It is suggested that the association of a he-goat with Aphrodite is probably a reference to her function as the patroness and protector of young men on their arrival at puberty, as youths who had reached this age were known as *τράγοις*, and the verb, "to reach the age of puberty," was *τραγίειν*. This conception of the goddess seems to have been identical with Aphrodite Pandemos, whose importance has for a long time been recognized, and who has been successfully identified with Aphrodite Apturos, worshipped at the feast of the Apturia, when the enrollment of the youths in the phratries took place, signalling their passing from boyhood to puberty. It is regarded by the writer as probable that we must derive, therefore, the adjective *τραγικός* from the word *τράγος* in the sense of "ephebe" rather than "he-goat." It is pointed out that up to Hellenistic times, when the true origin of tragedy had

been lost sight of, the animal parts of satyrs are rather of horses than of goats—the pointed ears, for example, are quite as similar to those of horses. An attempt is made to prove that the literary references to the origins of tragedy point to a later tradition, and that the original tragic chorus was one of youths just arrived at manhood, celebrating their emancipation from boyhood in songs in honor of their patroness Aphrodite.

Greek Names Containing Names of Deities and Heroes.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 153–162, SALOMON REINACH discusses the names formed from names of deities and heroes and ending in *-doros* and *-dotos*. The thought of gratitude for the gift of the child does not appear. The names seem to be chosen as being of good augury. Names are avoided which suggest: (1) The idea of war or death, as Ares, Pluto, etc.; (2) The idea of gross sexual activity, as Priapus, Pan, etc.; (3) The idea of salt water, which is sterile, as Poseidon, Triton, etc.; (4) Names of abstractions, as Tyche, etc.; but names are chosen by preference from among those of the gods of the country or of the family, among whom Demeter, Aphrodite, and Eros do not appear.

ITALY

COINS

Early Roman Coinage.—A paper read before the Royal Numismatic Society by E. A. SYDENHAM is thus summarized in its proceedings: “*Aes rude* was used by the people of Central Italy (including the Romans) probably till about the middle of the fourth century B.C. From about 450 B.C. to 275 B.C. bronze bricks (*aes signatum*) existed concurrently with *aes rude* and *aes grave*, but cannot be regarded as transitional from one to the other. The libral *as* (*aes grave*) was not introduced until after 335 B.C. Its nominal standard was probably Attic rather than Oscan. No reduction in the weight of the *as* seems to have been made before 275 B.C. Between 275 and 268 the weight of the *as* seems to have fallen rapidly. By the end of this period it was approximately that of a *triens* (4 ounces), but in practice it conformed to no fixed standard. Evidence shows that down to 244 B.C. *asses* of three or four ounces continued to be issued. The *denarius* (268 B.C.) was probably equivalent to ten triental *asses*. It seems probable, however, that actually the *denarius* bore no direct relation to the cast pieces, but was part of a new struck coinage, of which the bronze factors were *triens*, *quadrans*, *sextans*, and *uncia*. At first the *denarius* seems to have been issued only in small quantities. Until the Second Punic War issues of silver coins from the Roman mint appear to have been intermittent. Struck *asses* of the sextantal, or two-ounce standard, were introduced probably about 242 B.C.” (*Num. Chron.*, 1924, Proceedings, p. 17.)

Legionary Coins of Victorinus, Carausius, and Allectus do not commemorate merely legions in their own armies, but are important “propaganda money,” designed to compliment and tend to win over legions serving under rival authority elsewhere: so Sir CHARLES OMAN in *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 53–68 (pl.).

Some Late Roman Mint-Marks.—Andreas Alföldy points out that *S M L A P* does not mean, as Sir Arthur Evans thought (*Num. Chron.*, 1915, pp. 433 ff.), *Sacra Moneta Londinii Augustae Prima* (sc., *officina*) on coins of Valentinian I and his colleagues, but the *L* is for *Lugdunum*, and the *A P* for *argentum pusulatum*. Similarly in the mint-mark *S M K A P*, the place is Konstantina-Arelate (*Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 69–75; 2 pl.).

Roman Serrate Coins.—H. MATTINGLY studies these issues in *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 31–52 (2 pl.), dividing them into five classes. The first is of a single type (Roma-Dioscuri), assigned by Grueber to Italy, and dated c. 217–197 B.C. Mattingly thinks the mint possibly not Roman, and the date probably a little

earlier than the reduction of 217. The second class is of c. 125–115 B.C., and the third c. 106–101 B.C. (as against Grueber). The fourth is of 87–71 B.C., and the fifth of c. 71–49 B.C., but probably of the later years of that period. The serration was done by hand before striking, and its object was to inspire confidence in the purity of the metal. In the late Republic it was a part of the tradition of the Marian faction.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Cult of the Lares.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 21–33, R. VALOIS discusses the nature of the Lares. He concludes that the *Lar familiaris* is the deity of the family hearth, the *Lares praestiles* twin guardians of the door (an altar with fire at each side of the door) and hence of the city gate, and the *Lares compitales* the spirits who presided over the disposal (by fire) of refuse. With this last rite a rural fire-cult may have been associated.

FRANCE

ORANGE.—The Friezes of the Arch.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 29–54 (6 figs.), PAUL COUSSIN discusses the arms represented in the friezes of the arch at Orange. The Romans and their opponents are clearly distinguished, and their opponents are not Germans or Ligurians, but Gauls. The equipment of the Romans cannot be earlier than 50 B.C. or later than the time of Augustus. The arch was, then, erected in the second half, and probably in the third quarter, of the first century B.C. to commemorate a victory over Gauls. But among the trophies represented are some naval trophies of such character that they cannot refer to a victory over barbarians, but only to a victory in the Mediterranean. The conclusion is that the arch was erected, or begun, between 49 and 44 B.C. to commemorate the victories of Julius Caesar in his Gallic wars and in the Civil War.

SENS.—The Vicissitudes of an Equestrian Statue.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 132–136, MARC BLOCH discusses a (now much mutilated) equestrian statue on the western façade of the cathedral of Sens. An inscription, now lost, as cited by Jean Golein, in 1372, read:

Regnantis veri cupiens verus cultor haberi
Iuro rem cleri libertatesque tueri.

Sponde (1640–1641) and local tradition declare that the statue represents Philip VI of Valois; Jean Golein gives it the name of Constantine; and the statue in Rome which was long believed to be that of Constantine is really that of Marcus Aurelius.

GERMANY

Bronze Statuettes in the Antiquarium at Berlin.—A selection of the more important among many additions to the collection of bronzes in the Antiquarium since the last publication Pernice, *Arch. Anz.*, 1904, 16 ff.) is given by K. A. NEUGEBAUER in *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, 1/2 (cols. 59–119; 35 figs.). The sixty-six numbers include separate figures and those once attached to some other object, but no implements as such. They are classified as follows: Cretan-Mycenaean (3), nude male figures.—Geometric (2), upper part of helmeted warrior; dog carrying young in its mouth.—Archaic (23), nude youths, one carrying a ram; Hermes Criophorus; bearded men with pointed hats, both nude and draped, some carrying rams under the left arm; Ionic female figure wearing long chiton; man wrapped in chiton and mantle, Ionic work; reclining man; Zeus hurling the thunderbolt; eagle; snake rolled in a hoop; snake rearing its head, inscribed on the back **IAPΩΣΕΜΙΤΟΜΕΛΛΙΨΙΟΤΟΠΕΛΑΝΑΙ**; locust, probably an offering to Apollo, protector from pests; dancing nude warrior from a Hittite site in the Taurus; Scythian archer kneeling on a volute.—Fifth and fourth centuries (5), woman spinning;

resting maenad, probably from Tarentum; Poseidon standing; slave boy asleep, probably 4th century.—Hellenistic (6), boy (Dionysus?) riding on panther; athlete with right hand holding discus, left hand raised; goddess in archaic drapery; upper half of bearded old man wearing mantle and garland of uncertain character, from Cairo; a pair of negro slaves, also from Cairo; naked, hump-backed beggar sitting on a rock like Alexandrian figures of fishermen, a vivid portrayal of extreme misery.—Italic (6), several archaic figures of nude youths such as are found on Etruscan candelabra; tall, slender figure of Heracles with the lion skin covering the back of his head and the left arm, local fabric of the fourth century; Athena hurling the spear, one of a number of such figures found in Umbria or Picenum; Gallic warrior fighting, fallen on the right knee.—Roman (20), standing youth, classicizing style, work of the imperial period; Jupiter enthroned, from Antium, one of a large number of replicas probably from the cult statue of the Capitoline Jove at Rome; head of a silenus, once silver-plated, excellent work; figure of Apollo laurel-crowned, with face suggesting the portraits of Claudian princes; carefully finished, classicizing, seated sphinx; Attis as boy, with mantle buttoned down the legs, belly uncovered, hands crossed on the breast, Phrygian cap, the back made to fit against some upright object, second century A.D.; Mercury in long mantle, sandals, etc., with suspension ring on the top of his hat, one of many such figures in which the hair over the forehead suggests a Polycitan original; Odysseus seated on an altar, in an attitude as if grouped with Penelope, Roman work but from an older model; Heracles with a tiny Telephus seated on his left hand, the father and child looking intently at one another; Athena with chiton, long mantle and snake-bordered aegis, casting the lot for Orestes; armed Athena in vigorous movement, from some Hellenistic original; zebu; parrot; pantheistic Fortuna with wings, elaborate head-dress and attributes, slender figure; standing Aphrodite with diadem and with apple in left hand; upper part of an Aphrodite derived from the Medici type; genius of Jupiter Dolichenus; eagle perched on the head of a stag, a motive apparently of Hittite origin.

DENMARK

COPENHAGEN.—**Gorgon and Lioness.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 267–279 (6 figs.), CHR. BLINKENBERG publishes a small cylix in the National Museum at Copenhagen. It is entirely black except at the centre, where a circular space is occupied by an apotropaic mask with great round eyes, great curved mouth, protruding tongue, and a beard. Weizsäcker (in Roscher's *Ausf. Lexikon der Mythologie*, III, p. 2394, 11) maintains that such bearded heads represent Phobos, and that similar heads without beards represent the Gorgon. Comparison with other monuments shows that in some instances the Gorgon is certainly represented with a beard. The beard of the gorgoneion is probably derived from that of the lion, or rather, since the Greeks often represented the lioness as bearded, of the lioness.

A Minoan Ring.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1925, pp. 262–266 (fig.), G. VAN HOORN publishes a Minoan ring in the National Museum at Copenhagen. It is of green jasper and was found in eastern Crete. On the bezel is a scene of worship. A goddess stands with raised hands which touch some zigzag lines intended, perhaps, to suggest clouds. At the left two standing women raise their hands in adoration, as do two kneeling men at the right. The shields of the men are beside them. Rocks and flowers indicate the scene where the apparition of the deity takes place. This ring is compared with the ring from Isopata. The kneeling posture is found but rarely in Hellenic art and only in representations of women. Perhaps the women of the classical period had retained it from the remote past.

RUSSIA

Ancient Marbles in the Moscow Historical Museum.—Ten pieces of Greek sculpture from southern Russia, now in Moscow, with two from the Hermitage in Petrograd, for comparison, are published with brief comments by O. WALDHAUER in *J.H.S.*, XLIV (1924), pt. I, pp. 45-53. A very archaic head of a youth, found at Olbia, is of coarse-grained marble resembling Naxian, and very much worn by water. It belongs to an Ionian, probably Milesian, "Apollo" figure. A very fine bearded head, seemingly of Pentelic marble, and probably from a herm, is an original Greek work of the middle of the fifth century, one of the ideal Attic types showing the influence of Phidias. The head of a bearded god, probably Asclepius, is a noble work of the fourth century. In the expression of pathos in the large, deep-set eyes, it resembles so closely the heads of Teges as to suggest the hand of Scopas himself. The two pieces in the Hermitage, both found at Kertsch, are a head of Heracles almost identical in form with the Asclepius head, and a colossal torso in which the drapery and the technical quality closely resemble the statue of Mausolus, being evidently from the same period and group of artists. These two pieces indicate an epoch of brilliant prosperity for the kingdom of Bosporus under Leucon and Pairisades I (389-309), while the head of Asclepius shows a similar artistic culture at Olbia. Other pieces, chiefly from Olbia, are: a bearded head with holes for attaching a metal wreath, formerly incorrectly called a replica of the Epimenides; a small helmeted head of Pentelic marble, of the Meleager type, with holes for the attachment of cheek pieces; a female head with stephané, an original Greek work of the early fourth century; a female head, also of Pentelic marble, and from the middle of the fourth century, which was apparently once set into a background as a relief; and a relief of a siren, full-face, of coarse local material and workmanship.

SPAIN

Legio VI^a Hispana.—Commenting on the inscriptions of Tiberius Claudius Dinippus at Corinth, published by L. R. DEAN (*A. J. A.*, XXII, 1918, pp. 189-197) HENRI SEYRIC attempts to reconstruct the history of this legion, of which, Dinippus was military tribune. It seems to have ceased to exist in 197 A.D., and it is suggested that the date of Dinippus's military tribuneship was in the neighborhood of 145 A.D. Sometime in the interval the legion disappears. Its formation was after 23 A.D., as it is not listed by Tacitus among the legions stationed in the Roman Empire at that time. From passages in the *Histories* of Tacitus and Suetonius's *Life of Galba*, it is suggested that it was recruited in Spain by Galba in the end of June, 68, and entered Rome with him in October of that year. In an appendix, the writer gives a list of the inscriptions in which this legion is mentioned, which, besides the ones from Corinth, come from various parts of the Roman world. (*B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 488-497.)

Tartessus.—At the July (1923) meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society, H. SCHMIDT gave a summary of the history of ancient Tartessus as set forth in A. SCHULTEIN's recent book of that name (Hamburg, 1922). The city flourished for about 500 years, (1000-500 B.C.), maintaining relations successively with the Phoenicians, Phocaeans, and Carthaginians, and fell a victim to the ambition of the last-named for exclusive control of the trade of western Europe, an ambition which laid the foundation for the latter conflict between Carthage and Rome. The total disappearance of Tartessus, Schulten connects with the Greek legend of Atlantis. An important discovery, one of the most extensive discoveries of prehistoric material made in Spain, is the recent finding in the harbor of Huelva of a sunken shipload of some 400 bronze articles of all sorts and from many sources—weapons, tools, ornaments, buckles, fibulae, chiefly of the latest west-European

bronze age, about 1000-800 B.C.—which were probably being taken to Tartessus to be melted up as material for the local work. *Arch. Anz.*, 1923/24, cols. 122-123.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ART

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The History of Gestures.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 64-79, S. REINACH traces the history of gestures, or rather of attitudes, in art. Frontality and stiffness prevailed in Egyptian art, and in Greek art until the fifth century, to be revived in the Middle Ages. Even after technical difficulties are solved, art refuses to represent many attitudes. Conventional postures for the Holy Family, and for galloping horses, are cited. The dependence of the Renaissance upon antiquity for certain attitudes, notably in the late Renaissance for the figure lying so as to show the back (an invention of the third century B.C.), is emphasized, and the *geste de tendresse*, an infant embracing its mother with both arms round her neck, is discussed at some length. This *motif* was introduced into art by Jan van Eyck. Instantaneous photography has already brought new attitudes into works of art, and its influence has as yet only begun.

Pregnancy Represented by Transparency in Christian Art.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 137-149, G. H. LUQUET discusses the representation in art of that which is invisible to the eye, and especially the representation in Christian art of the babe in the mother's womb. He gives a list of such representations, divided as follows: The Woman of the Apocalypse (2), The Virgin Mary (13), Saint Anne (8), The Visitation, with the transparency appearing in the Virgin and in Saint Elizabeth (4).

A Eucharistic Pyxis.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 238-240 (fig.), MAX PRINET publishes a little brass box which bears in mingled capitals and uncials the inscription:

Ecce salus mundi, verbum Patris, hostia pura,
Verus homo, deitas integra, vera caro.

This distich is found also, with slight variations, in two manuscripts of the early part of the thirteenth century. Inside, on the bottom of the box, is a rude representation of the crucified Christ. It is very seldom that eucharistic pyxides of the twelfth or thirteenth century are made of brass, whether gilded or not, without enamel; that they have an inscription on the outside; or that their interior is decorated with an image of the crucified Jesus.

The Ring in the Middle Ages.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 55-78 (13 figs.), LT. COL. DERVIEU discusses the ring in the Middle Ages. Some rings had a bezel, others had none; some rings were mere ornaments, others were used for special purposes, as engagement rings, reliquary or talismanic rings, rings of corporations, rings of investiture, and pontifical rings. The materials are gold, silver, and copper. Some early gold rings show traces of enamel, and some made in the fifteenth century are almost covered with enamel. Not many mediaeval rings are preserved, and information is derived in part from documents. It is difficult to distinguish mediaeval rings from those of later times. Several rings are illustrated and discussed.

Modena, Bari, and Hades.—In *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1924, pp. 71-74 (4 figs.), R. S. LOOMIS presents material for settling the controversy as to the date and precise subject of the archivolt on the Porta della Pescheria of Modena depicting a scene from Arthurian legend. The early dating of the work, that is, between 1099 and 1106, is confirmed by details of the armor worn by the Arthurian knights in the sculptured scene. The central theme of the relief, the clue which gives meaning

to the whole, is here for the first time interpreted by the identification of the two figures in the castle—Winlogee and Mardoc—as the Guinevere and Morde of Arthurian legend. The story at Modena is therefore "an euhemerized version of a myth relating how, like Proserpina, Guinevere was carried off by the lord of Hades; how, like Orpheus, her husband set forth to bring her back; and how, like Hercules in the Alcestis legend, Gawain successfully struggled with Death and brought Guinevere back to her husband."

Spain or Toulouse?—In *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924, pp. 3-25 (19 pls.), A. K. PORTER writes a spirited critique of Mâle's recent publications on the Romanesque. He rejects the usual opinion, retained by Mâle, that Toulouse was the generating centre of Romanesque sculpture. Instead, he believes that first Spain and then



FIGURE 1. INSCRIBED CAPITAL: VÉZELAY

Burgundy had priority over Toulouse, basing his argument on the evidence of the Beatus illuminations and the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi. He maintains against L. Folch i Torres, J. Serra y Vilaró, W. W. S. Cook, and others, that the Solsona Virgin is of the twelfth century and cites as parallel a mid-century tympanum of Salzburg. He denies the invention of a new symbolism to Abbot Suger, whom he considers, rather, to have diffused a symbolism already existing. Against Mâle and Deschamps, who has published an attack on Porter's chronology, he defends the eleventh century date of the inscription and sculpture of Santo Domingo de Silos. On the basis of an inscribed capital of the nave of Vézelay (Fig. 1) he defends his dating of Vézelay in the first third of the twelfth century, and he holds to his general theory of the spread of the Cluniacon style.

ITALY

Roger van der Weyden.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 88-94, DOMIEN ROGGEN, after citing the documents which prove that Roger was in Italy in 1450 and showing that the triptych described by Cyriacus of Ancona was painted

before Roger went to Italy and is now lost, discusses the three paintings by Roger connected with his Italian journey: the portrait of Lionel d'Este, the Madonna under the Pavillion (Städel Museum, Frankfort), and the Pietà in the Uffizi. The first shows no Italian influence; the picture in Frankfort has been connected with a painting by Fra Angelico in the Academy at Florence, but without sufficient reason; the Pietà shows a composition different from anything known in Flanders and so like that of a painting in Munich (No. H. G. 38a), attributed to Fra Angelico or his school, that Roger must have copied the Munich picture, though adding details of his own. An Entombment in the National Gallery, attributed to Michael Angelo, may have been inspired by the Munich painting and that of Roger. Several other paintings, chiefly miniatures, are briefly discussed.

The Linear Perspective of Leonardo da Vinci.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 55–76 (4 figs.), JACQUES MESNIL discusses linear perspective, especially as it is taught and practised in the writings and paintings of Leonardo da Vinci. Perspective may be a means of producing an optical illusion or a means of unifying and centralizing the composition. In the decoration of scenes for the theatre optical illusion is a legitimate end, and not in other paintings. The *Last Supper* of Leonardo is the most beautiful example of perspective employed as a means of unification and concentration.

A Study for Titian's Battle of Cadore.—In *Münch. Jb.*, I, 1924, pp. 20–25 (pl.; 3 figs.), E. BAUMEISTER describes a drawing of a group of horse and rider and fallen figure in the print collection at Munich, which has formerly been attributed to Tintoretto. It is decidedly not the work of Tintoretto. And it not only bears characteristics of Titian's style, but is fairly closely repeated in Fontana's engraving after Titian's painting of the Battle of Cadore, which was destroyed by fire. The drawing is a companion piece to a drawing of an equestrian group at Oxford, which has been attributed to Titian. The latter drawing is likewise to be considered as a study for a detail of Titian's painting.

A Romanesque Madonna.—In *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1924, pp. 103–104 (2 pls.), A. C. WEIBEL publishes a Madonna from a village church in the Abruzzi, which is now in a private collection in Rome. It is assigned to the same class of monuments as the Madonna of Presbyter Martinus, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and the Madonna di Costantinopoli, in the parish church of Alatri. Like the others, it is carved out of a tree trunk, in the manner of the archaic Greek xoanon. In all three the Madonna is seated, holding the Child straight in front of her. But in the example here published the throne and lower part of the Madonna are missing.

ROME.—A View of the Septizonium of Septimius Severus.—In the Chapel of S. Ugone in the Certosa di Pavia, in a painting of the Madonna and Saints by Macrino d'Alba, the landscape background shows a corner of the Septizonium seen from the N. E., as well as a portion of the Basilica of Constantine. Painted in 1496, evidently from drawings made in Rome, the picture antedates the Renaissance drawings by which the building is known, and is of value for its reconstruction. It confirms the evidence of the ancient city plan for an extension of the main wall at this corner, instead of the column shown in the drawings. G. RODENWALDT, *Jb. Arch.* I., 1923/24, pt. 1/2, cols. 39–44; fig.

The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin.—A publication of the Medici Society, 1923, 41 pp. (72 pls.), reproduces the drawings in the catalogue of pictures owned by Andrea Vendramin in Venice in 1627. The facsimiles are accompanied by the text of the catalogue and a discussion of the catalogue by T. BORENIUS. The original catalogue is now in the British Museum (Sloane MSS. 4004). It contains eighty-six folios, with one hundred and fifty-five drawings of pictures in the collection, a short discussion of the history of painting during the classical period, attributions, and a list of pictures not reproduced. Most of the pictures are Venetian. They include a number of attributions to Giorgione, Titian, Bellini,

Carpaccio, etc. Out of the large number of drawings, Borenus has identified only four with extant paintings.

FRANCE

Lucretia Tapestries.—In *Art in America*, XII, 1924, pp. 291–296, (pl.), S. RUBINSTEIN publishes a set of four tapestries in the collection of Mr. Felix Warburg, New York, representing four episodes from the life of Lucretia, wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, as told by Livy. Originally there must have been two or three other pieces, completing the story. The style of the costumes date the work about 1500, and, together with the type of personages and their grouping, proves a French origin.

PARIS.—A Funerary Statue in the Louvre.—In the Louvre is the recumbent statue of Blanche of Champagne, who died in 1283. Some of the accessories have disappeared. The work consisted of a wooden core on which the plates of beaten bronze were nailed; the head, hands, feet and cushion were cast in bronze; certain details were chiselled; and enamel was employed on parts of the cushion, for the girdle, and for parts which have disappeared. This is a work of the artists of Limoges, who were famous workers in enamel and are known to have made a considerable number of tombs. This is, however, the only monument of this kind in France, and only two are now known elsewhere, the monument of Aymar de Valence in the choir of Westminster and that of bishop Maurice at Burgos. (H. M., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 415, from the *Débats*, February 17, 1924.)

SAINT DENIS.—Godefroid de Claire and Abbot Suger's Cross.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 79–87 (fig.), MARCEL LAURENT maintains that Godefroid de Claire, who made the great cross for Abbot Suger, did not derive his composition from Suger, but carried on the tradition of his native region of the Rhine and the Meuse. Suger started France on a path on which she was soon to distance all other nations—the ambo at Klosterneuburg, by Nicolas of Verdun shows that French influence was already strong in 1181,—but the goldsmiths of the Rhine and the Meuse were conservative, and their art eventually succumbed to the Gothic style of France. The opinion of E. Mâle, who gives Suger the credit for the composition of the cross, and the decoration of the cross itself, are discussed in some detail.

A Statuette of the School of Reims.—In *Art in America*, XII, 1924, pp. 202–211 (7 figs.), S. RUBINSTEIN publishes a wooden statuette of an angel, which, though badly damaged, is still one of the very lovely examples of the work of the school of Reims. It probably comes from the same atelier which produced some of the angels and other figures on the cathedral of Reims.

The Beginnings of Romanesque Sculpture in Languedoc and Burgundy.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 163–173, PAUL DESCHAMPS in reply to C. Oursel (*ibid.*, 1923, May-June), discusses the sculptures of Cluny, Toulouse, Autun, Moissac, Vézelay, etc., and concludes that at the close of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh the two schools of Languedoc and Burgundy progressed side by side, each preserving its independence, though with various reciprocal borrowings. *Ibid.*, p. 413 is a brief summary, by S. R., of an article in the *Bull. Monum.*, 1923, in which M. Deschamps asserts the priority of the school of Toulouse.

GERMANY

Romanesque Sculpture in Southeastern Germany.—In *Münch. Jb.*, I, 1924, pp. 16–19 (3 figs.), H. KARLINGER writes briefly of the style of the sculptural remains of the Solnhofen cathedral. There are three capitals and a medallion relief, all dating from the third quarter of the 11th century. The closest analogies

are with work at Quedlinburg and Regensburg. St.-Emmeran at Regensburg offers particularly close analogies, though the sculpture there is more monumental in conception. The style of the Solnhofen work is more in the spirit of the minor arts, especially ivory carvings.

BERLIN.—**St. Jerome by Piero della Francesca.**—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 201–205 (4 figs.), W. VON BODE publishes a painting of St. Jerome in a landscape, recently acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which he ascribes to the early years of Piero della Francesca. The work is signed and dated 1450, and this inscription is believed to be genuine. Piero's St. Jerome with a Donor in the Academy at Venice is a good example for comparison with the Berlin canvas.

A Lost Altarpiece by Giovanni Bellini.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 205–211 (5 figs.), D. F. VON HADELN suggests that a drawing by Girolamo Mocetto in the Dresden cabinet is a copy of a lost altarpiece by Giovanni Bellini. The composition represents the enthroned Madonnas attended by saints. Sts. Peter and John the Baptist are closely similar to those characters in the half-length composition by Bellini and pupils, formerly in Dr. E. Simon's collection, Berlin. The St. John is repeated in a painting by Alvise Vivarini in the Academy at Venice. And a drapery study of the St. Paul, in the British Museum, which is to be attributed to Bellini himself, shows that Mocetto has misunderstood the drapery as painted in the lost altarpiece.

Some Upper German Drawings.—In *Münch. Jb.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 94–101 (6 figs.), E. BUCHNER studies several drawings in various collections which he finds are sufficiently similar to be considered the work of one hand. While the relationship of the style to that of Wechtlin is close, the drawings can hardly be assigned to him. The designation here suggested for their unknown author is the "Master of the Apostle Simon," in consequence of a characteristic page in the group (Fig. 2). The dates of all probably fall in the third decade of the sixteenth century.

Flemish Tapestries.—In *Münch. Jb.*, I, 1924, pp. 50–72 (14 figs.), A. VON SCHNEIDER discusses some of the Flemish tapestries in the unusually rich collection of that art in the Bavarian National Museum. Among them are series and single tapestries. Their high quality renders them of great artistic value, and in them one can trace almost the whole development of Flemish painting, especially that of Brussels, from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the eighteenth. There is only one gap in the progression. The baroque style of Rubens and his atelier is lacking.

Flötner Studies.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XLV, 1924, pp. 214–276 (2 pls.; 30 figs.), J. LOUIS SPONSEL connects Peter Flötner with the two most significant works of the early Renaissance in Central Germany, the castle of Duke George at Dresden and the Hartenfels castle at Torgau. The Gothic artists Schickentanz and Krebs have formerly been given the credit of being the architects for the two buildings, but the Italian Renaissance spirit which pervades the work is much more reasonably attributed to Flötner. Other architectural works in which he must have played the part of designer in some cases and of creator in others are the castle at Dippoldiswalde, the steps of the Rathaus at Oschatz, the round bay of the New Market at Dresden, and a bucket well from Lössnitz. In *ibid.*, pp. 121–184 (pl.; 40 figs.), the same author studies the question of Flötner's connection with works in Mainz and Halle.



FIGURE 2. DRAWING BY
THE "MASTER OF THE
APOSTLE SIMON"

A Madonna by Colijn de Coter.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 117-120 (2 figs.), E. HENSLEY publishes a Madonna composition in a Rhenish private collection which adds a third to the signed works by Colijn de Coter. It is very closely similar to the Madonna in the Ryerson collection, Chicago, which Friedländer has attributed on stylistic grounds to this artist. The new picture gives another proof of Coter's proximity, as pupil or follower, to Roger, and it displays Coter's characteristics in their most mature development.

The Equestrian Monument of Emperor Maximilian.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 212-213 (2 figs.), E. F. BANGE discusses a bronze statuette of a horse in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which, by comparison with Burgkmair's sketch in the Albertina, is clearly proven to be connected with the equestrian monument of Emperor Maximilian, which was never completed. Like the sketch, the bronze statuette is to be dated not later than the beginning of the year 1509, and probably Erhart made the model for the statuette, even if he did not do the casting. The careful technique of the casting makes probable the hypothesis that the horse was cast for the emperor, who, after the failure of his plan, wished to have at least a model of the horse.

Rembrandt's Early Work.—While more recent critics of Rembrandt are busy depleting the list of works assigned to the master, W. VON BODE, now in his eightieth year, publishes in *Z. Bild. K.*, LVIII, 1924, pp. 1-4 (pl.), a hitherto unknown painting, in the Berlin market, of two old men seated at a table, which he assigns, solely on the basis of style, to Rembrandt's youth. One of the heads is closely similar to Rembrandt's early portraits of his father and the color is paralleled in the Jeremiah acquired for the Rasch collection in Stockholm from the Stroganoff collection. The latter painting is dated 1630. In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 277-280 (fig.), K. BAUCH attributes to the early years of Rembrandt the painting of the Expulsion from the Temple which is now in the Rumiantzoff Museum at Moscow, where it is classed as a school piece. One of the faces in the composition is strikingly similar to the one that Bode likens to Rembrandt's father in the canvas discussed above. Bauch also states the problems which demand solution before a clear understanding of Rembrandt's early work may be had.

Student Drawings Corrected by Rembrandt.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 191-200 (pl.; 15 figs.), G. FALCK publishes a number of drawings which he believes to have been made by Constantyn van Renesse and then corrected by his master, Rembrandt. Rembrandt has always left the successful parts undisturbed, but has made radical changes in other parts. Hitherto only one painting has been assigned to Renesse. Another is here added, a Kermesse scene in an American private collection, which has formerly been attributed to both Aert de Gelder and Ph. de Koninck. But its relationship to a signed drawing by Renesse makes his authorship quite clear.

The Early Works of Rubens.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 185-190 (3 figs.), K. BAUCH discusses the characteristics of the early works of Rubens, with special attention to his portraits. A portrait of a youth in the Munich collection of Albert Langen, which has formerly been attributed to Cornelis de Vos, shows the style of the youthful Rubens, and must date before 1604. The portrait of a woman, in the Hermitage, formerly attributed to Coello, must date about the same time. It is an example of Rubens' work done in Spain.

Group Altars in Hall and Swabia.—In *Münch. Jb.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 121-160 (42 figs.), M. VOEGELEN discusses a group of altars in Hall, in the neighborhood of this town, and in Würtemberg collections which differ essentially from other Swabian work at this time. They are similar in combining several scenes or groups in a triptych shrine, the central part of which is raised considerably above the side panels and has separate wings for covering it. The dates of the series (about a dozen examples in all) fall within a very short period, of about forty years,

beginning with about 1440. The most striking thing about the altars is their relationship to Flemish works, in form, in arrangement of scenes, in decoration, in narrative content, and in particular details. Yet the differences between the various altars is such that no two can be the work of the same hand. The exact source of the Flemish influence is not determined—there are several possibilities—but at least this group of altars seems to be the earliest work in Swabia showing this influence.

The Würzburg Madonna.—In *Z. Bild. K.*, LVIII, 1924, pp. 30–34 (4 figs.), O. FISCHER publishes four photographs of the Würzburg Madonna taken in the last thirty years. They show better than any amount of discussion what is happening to many works all over Germany that remain under the jurisdiction of the Church. This Madonna has been repeatedly tampered with, painted, cleaned off, and repainted till it speaks very little of its original message.

SWITZERLAND

A Portrait by Botticelli.—To the list of portraits which W. VON BODE has already attributed to Botticelli, he adds another in *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 113–116 (2 figs.). It is a portrait of a young man seen almost full-face. It is now in the Swiss market, but formerly belonged to the Florentine family of which the man represented in the picture was a member. The strong influence of Filippo Lippi upon Botticelli's portrait style is here discussed.

Swiss Glass.—In *Pa. Mus. Bul.*, XX, 1924, pp. 11–18 (3 figs.), A. E. BYE writes a third installment of the description of Swiss glass of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries owned by the museum. Most of the panels previously described were of a personal character, while the larger examples here published are municipal panels, "Stadtscheibe," and a series of panels from a large cycle of the Passion of Christ. These last are from the Monastery of Wettingen, near Baden.

SPAIN

Two Altar-Frontals in the Barcelona Museum.—In *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1923, pp. 31–60 (45 figs.), W. W. S. COOK publishes the second division in his study of the earliest painted panels of Catalonia. The iconographical analysis of the subject matter and ornamental details of the two altar-frontals (Fig. 3) published in the present article involves the presentation of many interesting and hitherto unpublished manuscript pages, notably, pages from the Escorial Virgilanus and Aemilianensis, the Gerona Homilies of Bede, the Bible of Leon, manuscripts at Vich and Perpignan, and the Vatican Bible of Farfa. The iconographical feature of most interest is the globe-mandorla, a comprehensive study of which is here made. Its development is traced through the Hellenistic globe type, the Oriental mandorla, the Carolingian glove-mandorla (Tours, Reims, St.-Denis). The globe-mandorla in the two Barcelona antependia is found to be a distorted version of the St.-Denis type (developed in turn from the Latin globe type, the Eastern mandorla, and the Orientalized western version) and is therefore one of several proofs presented in this article of Carolingian tradition in the Romanesque art of Catalonia. Incidentally, the study shows the source of other *Majestas* types which appear in the art of Catalonia and Leon-Castile, thus demonstrating the eclectic and derivative character of mediaeval Spanish painting. Another interesting iconographical feature is that of the ball of the world held in the right hand of Christ. In the Gerona Beatus this is plainly labeled *Mundus*, so that there is no question of the Host or Eucharistic wafer, or any other interpretation. This is derived from Carolingian models, as is also the arc or segment of the earth-globe, which serves as a footstool for Christ in both Barcelona frontals. The two panels are obviously the products of the same atelier, if not of the same artist. They date about the middle of the twelfth century.



FIGURE 3. ALTAR-FRONTAL OF CATALONIA: BARCELONA MUSEUM

GREAT BRITAIN

Velasquez.—In *Z. Bild. K.*, LVIII, 1924, pp. 24–26 (3 figs.), A. L. MAYER attributes a portrait of a woman to Velasquez and a genre scene to Murillo, both at present in the London market. The portrait comes from the collection of Lord Dungannon. Its technique is so closely related to that of the portrait of Baltasar Carlos in the Boston Museum that the London picture is probably of the same date, 1631. While this new picture is given to Velasquez, one formerly attributed to him, the head of a man in the collection of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, New York, is relegated to the class of copies.

NORTHERN AFRICA

TUNISIA.—**A Gnostic Intaglio.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 77–84, CH. BRUSTON offers an interpretation of the symbolic figures and the inscriptions on the intaglio found in Tunisia and published by A. Merlin in the *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1919, p. 216. The meaning seems to be that since Christ has received from God the sceptre of the world, the God of the Old Covenant is no longer to be considered a cruel lion who pitilessly mangles the sinner, but a disarmed and powerless warrior, not to be feared by those who have become new men through baptism and turning their gaze toward the glorified Christ.

UNITED STATES

DETROIT.—**German Silver.**—In *Art in America*, XII, 1924, pp. 199–202 (4 figs.), H. SCHMIDT writes of important examples of German silver work recently acquired by Mr. Ralph N. Booth of Detroit. Most of the pieces belong to the late Renaissance period, the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, when the silversmith's craft was at its height in Germany. One piece, at least, dates in the Gothic period.

POUGHKEEPSIE.—**Panels by Piero di Cosimo.**—In *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1924, pp. 99–102 (2 pls.), K. D. McKNIGHT (K. McK. Elderkin) publishes two cassone



FIGURE 4. THE WANDERINGS OF ULYSSES BY PIERO DI COSIMO: VASSAR COLLEGE

panels at Vassar College, which she assigns on stylistic grounds to Piero di Cosimo (Fig. 4). The panels depict scenes from the *Wanderings of Ulysses*. The Return of Ulysses is the subject of an end panel from the same cassone and by the same artist in the collection of Mr. Stanley Mortimer, New York. The panels were attributed by Dr. Sirén to Francesco Granacci on the basis of two sketches in the

Stockholm National Museum. The relationship between the sketches and panels is here refuted, while a relationship with works by Piero di Cosimo is maintained.

WORCESTER.—*An Early Florentine Madonna.*—In *Art in America*, XII, 1924, pp. 211–215 (3 figs.), R. HENNIKER-HEATON attributes a Madonna recently acquired by the Worcester Museum to the author of a Madonna in the Jarves collection. Dr. Sirén has attributed the Jarves example to Ambrogio di Baldese. The similarity between the two pictures is unmistakable. The one in Worcester is the more sensitive and lovely of the two.

NEWS ITEMS FROM THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

The outstanding event of this last month was the tragic death at Arta on March 18 of John Watson Logan, Markham Fellow from the University of Wisconsin. His funeral was held on March 21 in the English Church in Athens and was attended not only by his immediate friends in the School but by many Greeks as well, for all Greece felt the deepest grief at the tragedy.

The regular courses of the School ended March 3 and on March 4 an open meeting was held in the Library of the School. Mr. Hill gave a brief summary of the excavations at Nemea in 1924, Mr. Blegen described the finds made at Phlius later in the same summer and Mr. Fowler discussed two works of Greek Sculpture in the Cleveland Museum of Art, one a Myronian head very similar to the male head found at Corinth some years ago.

The British School held an open meeting on March 11 when their Director, Mr. Woodward, described the excavations at Sparta last spring. A brief account of these was given in an earlier letter to the JOURNAL. The other Foreign Schools in Athens have had no open meetings this year but the German Institute celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on December 18 and as part of the program included a talk by the present Director, Mr. Buschor, on the sculptured remains of the early poros temples on the Acropolis. From these he would reconstruct twelve pediments in all, four with lions or lionesses, one with the Typhon, one with Heracles and the Hydra, one with the Triton, three with processions, one with the olive tree and the springhouse, and a twelfth with the Presentation of Heracles. For many of these Mr. Buschor has not only pieces of the sculpture but fragments of the raking cornice so that some idea of the proportions of the gables, may be obtained. The Acropolis in the sixth century must have been fairly well populated with shrines and temples to have fragments of twelve poros gables extant, but Mr. Buschor's belief is that some of these succeeded each other in rather quick succession.

By the second week in March the American School community was pretty well scattered, some of the students going on the trip to Prevesa, Nicopolis, Janina, Dodona and Arta and were enroute to Thermon when they were turned back by the tragedy of the wounding of Mr. Logan. Other students were at the excavations at Corinth and the Argive Heraeum, for Mr. Shear began work at Corinth March 9 and has been excavating the area above the theatre. The remains here are very deeply buried and it is too soon to expect any results beyond a few scattered finds. Mr. Blegen has been excavating on the ridge near the Argive Heraeum since March 10 and has found a number of Mycenaean chamber tombs, containing some very fine pottery, bronze daggers (one inlaid), a bronze vessel and several spear heads. A few beads, buttons and a seal of the typical Late Helladic III type appeared and at higher levels were found some Geometric bronzes—a griffin's head and a small bull. These were conventionalized in style but are in extremely good condition. One of the most interesting finds was a painted fresco around the doorway of one of the tombs, showing a Mycenaean spiral design in good colors. Miss Cox is copying this before the colors fade from exposure. There appear to be other tombs on the same ridge and also traces of the walls of the prehistoric settlement were found on the terrace above the great temple. A deposit of good polychrome neolithic sherds turned up unexpectedly on the summit of one ridge—the first instance of this neolithic type in the Argive region.

Miss Goldman expects to resume excavations at her site, Eutresis, in Boeotia, soon after the Greek Easter, April 19.

Since my last letter, a few belated reports from the Greek archaeologists have come in. Mr. Philadelphevs conducted excavations last autumn near the Roman Nicopolis, on the road leading from Prevesa to Jannina and uncovered an extensive building which dates early in the sixth century A.D. This date is determined by an inscription giving the name of the archbishop who is known to have been a contemporary of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius. Two years ago a small chapel was found with a splendid mosaic pavement consisting of panels with birds, fish and leaves of different shapes done in very beautiful colors. In this last campaign a great paved square opposite the chapel was cleared and to the right of it was found a portico with the bases of the columns still *in situ*, the columns themselves were lying on the ground, perhaps thrown down by one of the earthquakes frequent in this region, while many Corinthian capitals of the type used in early Christian times were found in the same area. From the numerous light colonnettes—trilova and dilova of Byzantine windows—Mr. Philadelphevs conjectures that this portico had a second story with a number of windows in it. The floor of the portico is paved with mosaic in excellent preservation. Apparently similar porticos existed on the other sides of the paved court but these have not been cleared as yet. Mr. Philadelphevs considers that the building is either an elaborately decorated monastery or the residence of the archbishop. Its ecclesiastical character is determined not only by the inscription of the Archbishop but also by the finding of earthenware tiles bearing the emblem of the cross, and a sculptured cross on one of the architectural members.

On the east coast of Attica, not far north of Thoricus, Mr. Kotzias reports the discovery of an important Byzantine mosaic floor. It is a fairly large square, measuring apparently ten metres on a side. Within a series of borders done in various colors is a central panel in which is represented the figure of a nude youth, eighty centimetres high, in three-quarters view. He is represented as walking briskly, swinging his left hand behind him and pointing forward with his right at some object, perhaps a vessel of glass or clay. The head is poorly done and the features are barely distinguishable. The background is black and on it is the signature, somewhat awkwardly spaced ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΒΛΑСΤΟC. The mosaic probably forms part of a series of representations, which can only be revealed by further excavations.

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AMERICAN SCHOOL
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